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## Editorial

### OUR FRIENDS THE NEWSPAPER EDITORS

From time to time<sup>1</sup> we have reproduced editorials favorable to the classics from our leading newspapers, and we shall probably do so many times in the future. The reasons for this feeling of kinship between the classicist and the editor are not far to seek. Each is language-conscious and believes that one of the most precious endowments of the human being is that consciousness of language and its underlying thought which so clearly differentiate man from the brutes. The editor is like the classicist also in his effort to maintain a balanced judgment based on a long perspective. Every day he is called upon to evaluate quickly and with nicety of appreciation various items in the world news and the world development, and to cast these evaluations into readable paragraphs. And in many cases he knows that his style, his accuracy, his balance all go back to a training in the classics. Of such stuff are good editors made.

The editors of our daily newspapers are, too, notwithstanding a widespread opinion to the contrary, men of great personal and professional influence in their respective communities. It would be well, therefore, for every lover of the classics everywhere to become more intimately acquainted with his local editor, if only to discover that in him he has a kindred spirit. It may be, too, that the editor often sits in a lonely tower where he would greatly appreciate an occasional visit from the friendly classicist.

At any rate we appreciate very deeply the wholesome attitude of newspaper editors in general, and we wish them to know it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL, XXXIII, 184 f.; 317 f. Cf. also XXXII, 516, and XXXIII, 505.

## THE SEMANTICS OF LATIN PARTICLES

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Some forty years ago, in the nineties of the past century, an era of improvement began in the preparation of Latin textbooks in America. During those years the well-remembered vogue of grammatical and syntactical studies was quickly reflected in the corresponding field of annotation. At the same time the birth of interest in archaeological studies and the foundation of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome served to familiarize a considerable number of university professors and secondary teachers with the topography and monuments of the ancient city, an advance of knowledge which before long worked a revolution in the field of illustrations. Incidentally, the size, weight, and cost of books were greatly increased, publishers not disapproving, but the net result was a genuine gain.

The sole part of the textbook remaining unimproved was the vocabulary. This continues today practically as it was in 1890. It is still possible to take down a copy at random from the shelves and find *tandem* rendered "pray tell me" and *quin etiam* as "nay rather," although these expressions survive from the days of powdered wigs and plush breeches. One still finds *vero* rendered by "truly," "in truth," although it bears this meaning only in dialogue, and in the texts commonly read is most often to be translated "but," and a very vigorous "but" at that. Many texts offer no help on that shortest of all expletives *O*, as if *O me miserum!* meant "O me miserable!" and not "What an unhappy man I am!" Another test word is *scilicet*, which in many a book still stands as "forsooth," although this archaism comes down from the same generation as "zounds," "by my halidom," and "Lauk a mercy on me." Many texts and grammars of all grades still render

*ulinam* by "would that," or "O that," although the word frequently implies no ecstasy whatever and means "I wish that," "I only regret that," and should be taught as the sign manual of a wish, constituting with the accompanying words a fixed and uninspired sentence-pattern.

The general situation, of course, reflects the languor of Latin lexicography in England and America. Since the time of Henry Nettleship, few, if any, noteworthy lexicographical studies have appeared in print. The Latin dictionary of Lewis and Short, though excellent in its day, is seventy-five years out of date, and was marred from the first by much unevenness in the allotment of space. The treatment of the elusive *quidem*, for instance, is quite inadequate, while *iam* is overdone. With respect to the handling of particles in general, it must be borne in mind, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* will help us only up to a certain point, being entirely in Latin. The same statement will hold true of semantic studies in French and German, since sheaves of apt English renderings must still be assembled for English-speaking students and scholars. Before a really excellent Latin-English lexicon can be compiled, numerous semantic studies must be made to supplement the abundance of grammatical, etymological, and epigraphical data already assembled in books and periodicals. The study of semantics may, perhaps, never become really scientific but it may at least become systematic, because certain general principles do hold, and these must be laid down before a really first-class lexicon can be turned out. In the meantime those who feel inclined to pursue the study will find it a pleasant and profitable hobby. The following remarks may possibly suggest some lines of attack in the case of the particles.

There is no general agreement among grammarians and lexicographers as to what constitutes a particle. It is not an uncommon practice to classify all uninflected words under this head. This puts words whose meaning is never in doubt, such as *prope* or *fortiter*, in the same category as *usque* or the Protean *iam*. If we ask ourselves, however, what the word particle meant to the grammarian who first used it, few can doubt that he was thinking of the regular "parts of speech." To him a particle must have

been a word not readily assignable to any of the regular "parts." At any rate this is a sound principle to adopt as a basis of classification. The closest affinity will be with adverbs and conjunctions. Thus *quin* is a true conjunction in *non dubium est quin* but a true particle in *quin aspice*, where it registers impatience. Again, *tandem* is a true adverb in *tandem venisti?*, even if it registers relief, but it is a true particle in *quo usque tandem abutere*, where it registers exasperation. Once more, *iam* is a true adverb in *iam adest*, but approaches a particle in value in *iam desine*, "it is time you stopped," and in *iam invideo tibi*, "I begin to envy you," an inceptive force too often overlooked. The truth is that *iam* deserves a semantic study all to itself; no other monosyllable is equally elusive.

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the starting point of almost every semantic study of particles must be sought in dialogue. Take *vero* for an example. Used alone in replies to questions it denotes assent, "assuredly," "certainly." In the combination *optimus vero*, however, it serves merely to heighten or intensify the force of the superlative, "superb," "magnificent." The proof of this statement lies in this fact, that, while originally affirmative, it is also found attached to negatives as an augmentative: *minime vero*, "not in the least," "not at all," "far from it." The superlative, by the way, being itself an intensified form, often seeks additional heightening of its proper force. Hence comes *unus praeclarissimus*, where *unus* is no longer a numeral but rather an intensifier, or, as electricians would say, a condenser; the two words together are equal to *omnium praeclarissimus*, but emit a livelier spark of emphasis. Livy is partial to combinations like *maximus quidem*, "quite the greatest," where *quidem* is a mere augmentative. More frequent is *vel maximus*, "the very greatest," where *vel* is also augmentative. All of these combinations furnish super-superlatives.

Speaking of dialogue, *at* belongs in this field, differing from other adversative conjunctions in that its proper sphere is face-to-face argument. Its force is heightened in *at vero*, where *vero* becomes a mere intensifier. Proof of this lies in the fact that the latter, having been electrified by contact with *at*, itself becomes a lively

adversative, to be translated "but." In this use, however, it is limited to postposition, because it acquired adversative force in combination with *at*. *Vero* is also continuative at times, "more-over," "furthermore," denoting a new stage of the argument. This force was probably acquired from the combination *iam vero*, a fact that once more limits *vero* to postposition. These examples illustrate the semantic principle of "one for two," which means that one member of a compound may stand for both, like "car" for "motor car." Incidentally, the law that any abbreviation of an English proper name must consist of an accented syllable, like "Tish" for "Letitia" or "Liz" for "Elizabeth," rather suggests that *at vero* and *iam vero* were pronounced *atvé'ro* and *iamvé'ro* the first syllable in each case becoming proclitic. Otherwise, how could *vero* have come to stand for either one of them?

Adversative conjunctions are the easiest to translate, though not always the easiest to recognize, *at*, *sed*, *vero*, *verum*, *autem*, *quodsi*. The first is snappy because its sphere is in dialogue, being intensified in *at vero* and *at tamen*. *Sed* is a colorless drudge, though livelier in the combination *sed tamen*. Postpositive *vero*, condensed from *at vero*, possesses more voltage than *sed* but less amperage than *verum*, which possibly acquires its leading position, always first in the sentence, from the triple affirmative *verum enim vero*. This abundance of adversatives, by the way, brings to light a deficiency in English, since all may be rendered "but"; it is rather regrettable that we cannot render *sed*, *vero* and *verum* as "but," "butter," and "buttest" respectively. Weakest of the adversatives is *autem*, for which the translation "however" should be reserved. Its proper force is "again," "once more," which derives from the syllable *au*, "again," the same that appears in *aut*, from *aut(i)* the suffix *-ti* being a faded determinative. The suffix *-em* denotes an infinitesimal pause of thought for reflection, as in *quidem*.

From this origin it follows that *autem* is properly a continuative particle, advancing the narrative or argument to a new stage: if what follows conflicts with what precedes, it is mildly adversative, "however"; if it confirms what precedes, the translation is "more-over." Once more, since the force of particles fades out at times, the transitional "now" is occasionally an adequate rendering.

*Quodsi* is usually adversative, "but if," less often inferential, "wherefore if," and sometimes continuative, "now if." *Igitur*, postpositive, is normally inferential, "therefore," but may fade into a mere continuative, "so," "now." *Ergo*, "therefore," a smart inferential, also fades into a continuative. *Adeo*, literally "thereto," from *ad* and *eo*, is continuative in the meaning "besides," "furthermore," and sometimes serves to heighten *atque*, as in *atque adeo*, "and, what is more," but occurs infrequently. *Quidem* is continuative when introducing an aside, *Cato quidem*, "Cato, by the way."

Strange as it may seem, *quidem* is to be linked with the *quid?* that is used by itself as a particle of transition in narrative or argument, often translated "what next?", "what more"? This in turn herds with the more casual *quid quaeris?*, a complete interrogation, though so faded out that it serves as a particle, "enough" "what need to say more?" The common factor of these three is this, that each denotes a halt of thought, a pause for reflection. It is very doubtful whether the transitional *quid* should always be followed by the question mark. *Quidem* is certainly this *quid* joined with the reflective suffix *-em*, as in *autem*. The primitive force remains active when the word introduces asides, examples, or anecdotes, "by the way," "that reminds me," "you recall." Rather more often it serves to focus the emphasis for a moment and restrict it to a single idea, as in the set phrase *meo quidem iudicio*, "in my judgment at any rate," but its uses are too manifold to be briefly covered. The point here made is this, that the transitional particles *quid*, *quid quaeris* and *quidem* are all from one egg and denote a sudden pause and appeal for attention from the speaker to the listener. Postposition of *quidem*, like that of *autem*, it may be added, is possibly due to the suffix *-em*, which induces a *sotto voce* effect and reflects the emphasis back upon the leading word.

Omission of causal particles in translation is a commoner fault than positive mistranslation. In the interests of thoroughness they should always be rendered, but there is little excuse for erring. *Nam*, *namque*, *etenim* and *enim* all mean "for" or "because." That *enim* gets postposition from *at enim* or similar combinations

is evident from the fact that it possesses no freedom of position beyond second place. Caesar is more partial to *qua de causa* and *quam ob rem*, which gibe well with his clear, precise style. Needless puzzlement often arises over the combinations *quippe qui* and *quippe cum* with the subjunctive. This use of *quippe* is purely functional, serving to restrict a clause, otherwise ambiguous, to the causal meaning; being functional, it is translated along with the relative as "for the reason that," "inasmuch as," "naturally since." By itself *quippe*, for *quid-pe*, is an affirmative particle with the same meaning and the same suffix as *nempe*, "surely."

The particles *quin* and *tandem* evoke the pedantries "nay rather" and "pray tell me," which should have been laid aside along with Prince Albert coats. For a correct understanding one must, of course, revert to dialogue, where words become electrified by alternating currents of feeling. For example, *quin accipis* means "Why don't you take it?" but implies reproof and vexation. This undercurrent settles as a static charge in *quin*, if the metaphor is permissible, which is thus enabled to deliver a shock of disapproval in other collocations: with the imperative, for example, *quin accipe*, "Blockhead, take it." Static charges, however, soon spend themselves and *quin* fades to a mere corrective. Thus, *quin etiam* expanded means "No, that is not all," but in practice it may be treated as an emphatic continuative like *iam vero*, "besides," "what is more." *Quin* by itself often stands for *quin etiam*, the part for the whole, just as "mutt" stands for "muttonhead."

To master the vagaries of *tandem* one must know the etymology. It consists of *tam* in the obsolete meaning "now" along with the determinative suffix *-dem*, as in *ibidem*. We know that *tam* meant "now" because Plautus tells us the Praenestines said *tam modo*, "just now,"<sup>1</sup> where, since *modo* means "just," *tam* must mean "now." Confirmation of this is found in the fact that *modo* frequently means "just now," a case of one for two, *modo* standing for the obsolete *tam modo*. *Tandem*, therefore, must have first meant "right now," "at once." Being by origin an intensified form, it gathered, especially in questions, a static charge of impatience,

<sup>1</sup> *Trinummus* 609; also attested by Festus, p. 359, Müller.

insistence, or peremptoriness, as in *quo usque tandem abutere*, which is one of the most difficult sentences to translate in all Cicero's speeches. In narrative, however, *tandem* came to express relief following waiting and anxiety: *tandem venisti?*, "Have you come at last?" Compare the force of "now" in such expressions as "Now I can die happy."

The best translators stumble over *immo* or, in its heightened form, *immo vero*. Unfortunately the etymology is unknown, but the meaning need never be obscure. A false lead is sometimes offered, based upon such examples as Horace, *Satires* I, 3, 20:

Nullane habes vitia? Immo alia et fortasse minora.

This implies a substantial ellipsis, as is the rule with this particle: "Have you no faults? No, I don't say I have no faults. I say I have different faults, and perhaps slighter ones." To teach students that *immo* after negative questions may be translated "yes" is a mistake. This falls far short of the requisite emphasis and blurs the meaning. An ellipsis should be assumed, consisting of the preceding sentiment reversed, question or no question. "No, not that but this" will serve for a blank formula. In later Latin, of course, the force faded and *immo* came to mean little more than *potius*, which is also true of *quin*.

By way of conclusion it may be added that particles are best studied in Plautus and Terence, because it is in brisk dialogue that they breed in the first instance and continue later to display their proper forces. In formal prose, which constitutes the bulk of secondary reading, they perform for the most part diminished and often derived functions as adversative, inferential, transitional, and continuative particles. There is all the more need, therefore, of thorough semantic studies and better vocabularies.

## PRAISE OF ITALY IN CLASSICAL AUTHORS, I

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That Italy is of fair lands among the fairest was generally recognized and widely proclaimed in ancient times, as it has ever been in succeeding ages. For beauty and fertility Italy is in no small measure indebted to climate and the advantages of physical contour. Its line of greatest length runs northwest to southeast some hundreds of miles, so that its more southerly parts enjoy the same climate and vegetation as do Greece and other lands of comparable latitude, while its northern reaches are fairly on a par with southern France. But in addition to the factor of latitude, Italy's climate is modified also by mountain ranges, by surrounding bodies of water, and by prevailing winds; the Apennines, which extend through the peninsula's entire length, and the Adriatic and Tuscan seas, which respectively wash its upper and lower shores, alter and temper its climate. These several agencies, together with varying elevations of the land itself, create such a diversity of conditions that somewhere within Italy's borders are found soil and climate favorable to the growth of practically all the products of the less warm and the warmest parts of Europe. The beauty and charm of Italy, the variety and abundance of the country's resources and products, and its natural features stirred the admiration of many ancient, as it has that of modern, writers. Their praise was and is justified,<sup>1</sup> for Italy's soil is rich and of different character in differ-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geikie (*op. cit.*, n. 2 below), 17: "A land so varied in its scenery, so fertile in its soil, so exuberant in its vegetation, so prolific, therefore, in its ministration to the well-being of man, has been feelingly claimed by one of its modern poets to have been dowered with 'the gift of beauty' [Cf. Filicaja in the sonnet translated by Byron, *Childe Harold*, canto iv, stanza 42, 'Italia! O Italia! thou who hast / The fatal gift of beauty']. Two thousand years ago the same natural charms existed, and it would have been strange had the Romans proved insensible to them. There can be little doubt, indeed, that an appreciation of these charms was one of the grounds of that national sentiment of patriotism for which the Romans were distinguished among the peoples of antiquity.

ent sections; its lakes, rivers, and smaller streams are numerous, and the rainfall is abundant; in practically every section its inhabitants enjoy the products, the climate, and the scenery of the mountains as well as of the plains that slope toward the seas; in a word Italy is not only the queen of lands bordering on the Mediterranean, but, in nearly all essential respects, one of the most favored lands in the entire world.

It is proposed here to examine briefly the more significant instances of praise bestowed by classical authors upon the physical conditions and aspects of ancient Italy as a whole and in its parts—upon its mountains, hills, and plains; its soil and products; its shores, lakes, and rivers; its cities, country villas, towns, and other places, including withal not only bounties and blessings provided by nature but works of necessity, convenience, and comfort, created by human foresight and skill for the safety, well-being, and happiness of her people.<sup>2</sup> In some passages our authors praise

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The more they saw and learnt of other countries, the stronger grew their conviction that none of these was so pleasant a land to dwell in as Italy, for nowhere [else] had nature so bountifully poured out all her riches for the service of man."

<sup>2</sup> This paper, written from the ancient sources, utilizes a good deal of material that is not included in the general handbooks on Rome and Italy. On the other hand much fuller discussion than is here possible is occasionally found in such treatises as: Thomas Ashby, *Roman Campagna in Classical Times*: New York, Macmillan (1927); Gilbert Bagnani, *Roman Campagna and its Treasures*: London, Methuen (1929); Gaston Boissier, *The Country of Horace and Virgil*, Trans. by D. Havelock: London, T. Fisher Unwin (1896); Robert Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*: London, George Bell and Sons (1876); Angelo Celli, *History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna*: London, John Bale, Sons and Danielsson (1933); H. R. Fairclough, *Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1930); Sir Archibald Geikie, *The Love of Nature among the Romans*: London, John Murray (1912); Elizabeth H. Haight, *Italy Old and New*: New York, Dutton (1928); Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1892); *id.*, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1897); *id.*, *Ancient and Modern Rome*: Boston, Marshall Jones Co. (1925); Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco, *The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets*: London, Macmillan (1911); J. Henry Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*: London, Adam and Charles Black (2 vols., 1892); Frank Gardner Moore, *The Roman's World*: New York, Columbia University Press (1936); S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*<sup>2</sup>: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1911); Frances E. Sabin, *Classical Associations of Places in Italy*: Madison, Wis. (Pub. by the author, 1921); Grant Showerman, *Eternal Rome*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1924); *id.*, *Rome and the Romans*: New York, Macmillan (1931); *id.*, *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1935).

places or things with this purpose directly in view and under strong emotion. In others, however, the references are more or less subordinate to some controlling idea, and praise is not the direct or chief objective, although the writer's note of approval, commendation, or eulogy is not the less distinctly heard.

First to be considered are outstanding passages of sustained praise of Italy as a whole. Of these, rightly given precedence is the great episode in which Vergil with a fine burst of enthusiasm and pride sings of the beauty and riches of his native land. Although well known, this noble tribute deserves at least a summary here:

But neither the forests of Media, wealthiest of lands, nor beautiful Ganges, nor Hermus running turbid with its gold, may vie with our Italy's praise; no, nor Bactra, nor India, nor all Panchaia, rich in incense-bearing sands. Teeming fruits have ever filled this land and the vine-god's juice from Mount Massic; it is the home of olives and of well-favored herds; from it come, Clitumnus, thy snow-white herds and bulls, noblest of victims, which oft bathed in thy sacred stream, have carried Romans in triumph to the temples of the gods. Here is unceasing springtide and summer in months not its own; twice yearly the cattle bear their young and twice do trees serve with their fruits. Add also Italy's many stately cities, the toil of our toiling, all those towns piled upon beetling crags, and streams that glide beneath time-honored walls. What need I tell of the seas that wash her shore, above and below? Or of her mighty lakes? This land of ours has shown currents of silver and copper and gold in her veins. She has been mother to vigorous races of men, the Marsian, the Sabine, the Ligurian inured to hardship, and the Volscian spearman. Hail, land of Saturn, great mother of the fruits of earth, mighty mother of noble men.<sup>3</sup>

Scarcely less ardent is the tribute paid to Italy by the Elder Pliny.<sup>4</sup> One of the most prosaic of writers, he assumes a near-lyric tone in his description of the country, when he says that its

<sup>3</sup> *Geor.*, II, 136-176. Cf. a concluding comment upon this passage by Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, Vergil, 256: "No expression of patriotic sentiment in any language is more pure and noble than this. It is a tribute of just pride and affection to the land which, from its beauty, its history, its great services to man, is felt to be worthy of the deep devotion with which Virgil commends it to the heart and imagination of the world"; also by Showerman, *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*, 209, "Despite the humiliation, neglect, and decay of long centuries, a Virgil of today might address to Italy the same stately apostrophe as his ancient forerunner of Mantua, *Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, / Magna virum.*"

<sup>4</sup> *N.H.* III, 40 f.

celebrity as a whole is wide, and that its distinction in particulars is even greater:

The city of Rome almost surpasses adequate description, and Campania's coast is so favored by natural charm and riches that it appears to be the work of nature delighting in accumulating her blessings in a single region. Add to this the everlasting freshness and healthfulness of the land and the mildness of its climate; fields so fertile, hillsides so sunny, pastures so wholesome, groves so shady, and forests with gifts so varied; bountiful riches found in grain, vines, and olives; flocks with choice fleeces and bullocks with sturdy necks; many lakes, rivers, and springs that everywhere bring refreshment to the land; numerous arms of the sea with their havens, and the bosom of the land opening on all sides to commerce, aye, reaching out into the sea, as if in aid to the efforts of mankind.

The same writer,<sup>5</sup> after having considered in detail the productions of nature and the advantages of various places, continues in words here summarized:

In the whole world there is no country that equals Italy in beauty, none that can dispute her primacy in the realm of nature. It has a favorable situation, mild climate, pleasant temperature, and easy access to other nations; its shores are rich in harbors and the winds are gentle; water is abundant, the forests are healthful, the mountains are cut through by valleys, the soil is fertile, and vegetation is luxuriant. Nowhere else are the necessities of life more fully supplied—grain, wine, oil, wool, flax, materials for clothing, bullocks, and horses. As to veins of various metals, so long as they were worked Italy yielded to no land in the production of metals. Next to Italy, if we except fabulous India, the most favored of lands is Spain in its parts that border on the sea.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that of countries known to him Italy stands first in natural advantages;<sup>6</sup> he cites the grain lands of Campania, with their thrice yearly harvests; unexcelled olive groves and vineyards; rich pasturelands for sheep, goats, cattle, and horses; wonderful forests yielding timber for shipbuilding and other purposes; navigable rivers to facilitate transportation and

<sup>5</sup> *N.H.* XXXVII, 201-203.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquitates Romanae* I, 36 f. Aelian too (*Varia Hist.* IX, 16) finds Italy's natural advantages manifold, the main reason why this country was early inhabited by men of so many nationalities: the mildness of its climate, the excellence of its soil, and its general productivity for the support of men and animals; rivers with abundant water, the sea bounding its coasts, harbors in great number, and many places suitable to facilitate incoming and outgoing trade.

exchange of products; warm springs for luxurious baths and at the same time efficacious in healing diseases; metals of all kinds; wide extent of hunting grounds, and seas abounding in fish; but most advantageous of all is the climate, so temperate that the growth of plants and the rearing of animals suffer from the extremes of neither heat nor cold. Strabo also notes with approval various conditions that favor Italy:<sup>7</sup> its island-like position, in which it is securely guarded by seas and protected by mountains; few harbors but these capacious and excellent, the one condition useful in repelling attacks from without, the other helpful in making counter-attacks and promoting commerce; differences of climate, which make for greater variation in animals and plants; every part of the peninsula, owing to the Apennines, in possession of the blessings of both mountains and plain; the size and number of its lakes and its many springs, hot and cold, provided by nature as an aid to health; great wealth in metals together with an abundance of timber; and food in plenty for both man and beast.

The natural beauty of Italy is further celebrated by Propertius,<sup>8</sup> who writes to a friend that all the wonders of other countries seen by the latter in his travels must yield to the land of Rome, where nature has placed whatever is best in all the world; for here flows Tibur's Anio and Umbria's Clitumnus; here stretches away the Marcian aqueduct that shall endure forever; here is Alba's lake and that of Nemi hedged about by its dense groves; here is the healing fount of Juturna, whence drank the steeds of Pollux and his twin. Then, after naming, as does Vergil, monsters unseen by Italy and tragic horrors it has never known, he adds: "This, Tullus, is the land that gave thee birth, this thine own home, fairest of the fair." Finally, to Rutilius Namatianus<sup>9</sup> Italy is queen of the world, a fabric of some god's designing, for whose protection he wove the Apennines, scarce penetrated by mountain paths; aye, nature in fear of men's jealousy of Italy, and as a means of defense, set up the Alps in the northern invader's way; even from time so remote the Rome that was to be deserved these protecting bulwarks, and was under the care of powers divine, who made her the object of their anxious thought.

<sup>7</sup> VI, 4, 1.

<sup>8</sup> III, 22, 17-39.

<sup>9</sup> II, 17-40.

Coming now to particulars we may note that an outstanding theme of praise is the fertility of Italy's soil, together with the abundance and excellence of its products. Varro in the *De Re Rustica*<sup>10</sup> represents his fellow-speakers as studying a map of Italy painted on the wall of the Temple of Tellus, after which they speak in prideful eulogy of their mother country: none is more fully under cultivation; within her borders every useful product grows to perfection; beyond comparison are the spelt of Campania, the wheat of Apulia, the wine of the *ager Falernus*, and the oil of Venafrum; in fine the whole land resembles an orchard; Homer's Phrygia is not more closely set with vines, nor his Argos, rich in grain, more entirely covered with wheat. Vergil<sup>11</sup> calls Italy a land old in story and strong in the "richness of its glebe." Elsewhere<sup>12</sup> he says the land's stream of abundance knows no cessation; the year is ever rich with fruits or offspring of flocks or sheaves of grain; it loads the furrow with increase and fills the barns to bursting; the olive is crushed in the oil-press, the swine in contentment return from their acorns, and the woods yield the arbutus's berry; autumn drops its various fruits, and high up on the sunny rocks the grape is ripening for the vintage. It is, too, because "Golden Plenty from her full horn pours forth her fruits upon Italy" that Horace<sup>13</sup> feels assured conditions are auspicious in the state's internal affairs under Augustus.

The main source of ancient Italy's wealth—the same is true of modern Italy—was in the products of her soil.<sup>14</sup> "All Latium," says Strabo,<sup>15</sup> "is blessed with fertility and produces everything except for a few districts that are marshy and sickly . . . or districts that are mountainous and rocky; yet even these are not wholly untilled or useless, but afford rich pasture-grounds, or timber, or certain fruits that grow in swampy or rocky ground." But the plain of Campania was celebrated in antiquity far above

<sup>10</sup> I, 2, 1-7.

<sup>11</sup> *Aen.* I, 531; repeated III, 164.

<sup>12</sup> *Geor.* II, 516-522.

<sup>13</sup> *Epist.* I, 12, 28 f.

<sup>14</sup> Italy's soil was in Roman times, as it is today, fertile in many sections, but particularly so on its western littoral, enriched by abundant accretions of loose black volcanic earth (*terra pulla*); also in the alluvial deposits of the Po valley, formed by the age-long accumulation of soil brought down by the Po and its tributaries.

<sup>15</sup> v, 3. 5.

other parts of Italy, indeed above all other lands. It was the extraordinary fertility of its soil, together with the beauty of its scenery and the agreeableness of its climate, that won for it the well-merited epithet *felix*.<sup>16</sup> Cicero, in opposing the colonization of state lands in Campania, comments in the *De Lege Agraria*<sup>17</sup> on the fertility of the soil and its abundant production of everything, while in the same oration<sup>18</sup> he refers to it as the chief source of Rome's supply in time of war, the basis of her revenues, and the granary from which her legions are fed. Vergil cites as most suitable for vines, olives, and grain the rich lands around Capua, the ridges about Vesuvius, and the soil along the river Clanus.<sup>19</sup> Strabo pronounces Campania the most blest of plains, around which lie fruitful hills; it was in fact on account of its fertility that this region became an object of contention among its earliest inhabitants,<sup>20</sup> and the Phlegraean fields were in myth made the scene of the adventures of the giants for no other apparent reason than because the productivity of the country had given rise to battles for its possession.<sup>21</sup> The Po valley also has its admirers. Strabo describes it as rich and diversified by productive hills; its soil yields increase in abundance and of all kinds; and as evidence of its fertility he notes its large population, the size of its cities and their wealth, particulars in which this territory surpassed the rest of Italy.<sup>22</sup>

Still other parts of Italy are praised for their fertility, even if in lesser degree. The country surrounding Arretium Livy calls one of the most fertile in Italy, abounding in cattle and grain and everything useful.<sup>23</sup> Vergil commends as excellent grazing lands the glades and fields about fertile Tarentum or the plains of Mantua, for in these places all that the herds crop by day the cool dew of one short night will restore.<sup>24</sup> The soil about Ovid's native Sulmo, although high in the Abruzzi mountains, is praised by the

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pliny *N.H.* III, 60: *felix illa Campania*. For a brief discussion of its fertility, with citation of the chief sources, see John Day, "Agriculture in the Life of Pompeii," *Yale Classical Studies* III (1932), 167 f.

<sup>17</sup> I, 6, 18; II, 14, 36; cf. Livy VII, 31, 1; 38, 6 f.; Propertius III, 5, 5; Columella x, 132.

<sup>18</sup> II, 29, 80. <sup>19</sup> *Geor.* II, 221-225. <sup>20</sup> v, 4, 3.

<sup>21</sup> v, 4, 4. <sup>22</sup> v, 1, 4. <sup>23</sup> XXII, 3, 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Geor.* II, 195-202.

poet<sup>25</sup> as carpeted with luxuriant grass and as fertile for the growth of grain, vines, and even the olive tree. Apulia too was famous for its rich farming and grazing lands;<sup>26</sup> especially the great plains of the northern part, extending to the sea and lying between the Tifernus and the Aufidus, today called Puglia Piana. Referring doubtless to this tract, Juvenal asks of a miserly character:<sup>27</sup> "For whose benefit are you keeping all those hills and farms in Apulia, all those pasturelands, the crossing of which would bring weariness even to the kite?"

Of all the products of Italy none was more often praised than its wines. Pseudo-Arrian tells us that Italian wines were a prime favorite among those imported into far away India.<sup>28</sup> Pliny says that of the eighty choicest kinds known in his day two-thirds of them were found in Italy, a proof of this country's advantage over all others in wine production.<sup>29</sup> Viticulture was successful almost everywhere in Italy, but the best wines were produced south of Rome. No attempt can be made here to name all kinds or to cite the hundreds of references. Justly famous, however, were wines of Latium, e.g., of the Alban hills, of Setia (preferred by Augustus to all others), and of the plain around Fundi, the *ager Caecubus*, the most northerly point in Italy where today oranges and lemons are regularly grown. Even more celebrated were the wines of Campania, especially of Mount Massic and the nearby *ager Falernus*.<sup>30</sup> Wine of high repute is mentioned as produced also in the *ager Gallicus-Romanus* (between Ariminum and the district of Picenum), at Faventia, at Luna, and in the valley of the Aulon (near Tarentum), the latter the equal of the Falernian. Another article of food highly praised for its quality is the olive,

<sup>25</sup> *Amor.* II, 16, 5-10.

<sup>26</sup> Horace, *Carm.* III, 16, 26; Strabo VI, 3, 9.

<sup>27</sup> IX, 54 f.

<sup>28</sup> B. Fabricius, *Der Periplus des Erythräischen Meeres*: Leipzig, Veit and Co. (1883), 49 (p. 90).

<sup>29</sup> *N.H.* XIV, 87.

<sup>30</sup> Pliny (*N.H.* III, 60) speaks of Campania's vine-clad hills and the wonderful exhilaration from the juice of the grape famous throughout the world, and of the mighty conflict, as ancient writers have it, between Father Bacchus and Ceres; cf. also Florus I, 11, 3-5: "Nowhere is the soil more fertile; for which reason it is said to have been an object of contention between Liber and Ceres . . . Here are the vine-clad mountains of Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, and Vesuvius."

especially from the country about Venafrum<sup>31</sup> and Tarentum.<sup>32</sup>

There were still other products of Italy famous for their excellence. Wool was one, especially from the district about the mouth of the Po,<sup>33</sup> from Apulia,<sup>34</sup> Parma,<sup>35</sup> and Tarentum.<sup>36</sup> Roses from Praeneste, according to Pliny,<sup>37</sup> were celebrated, but doubly so were those of Paestum,<sup>38</sup> where they flowered twice each year.<sup>39</sup> Propertius uses the fragrant rosebeds of Paestum in a comparison of feminine beauty.<sup>40</sup> From Martial<sup>41</sup> we learn that with the roses of Paestum those from Egypt could not compare. Ausonius, in a poem of which he is generally believed to be the author,<sup>42</sup> speaks of catching a glimpse of "such rosebeds as Paestum cultivates, smiling dew besprent in the rising dawn-star's light."

Snow-white marble from the Carrara mountains near Luna was in high repute. Pliny says<sup>43</sup> it was whiter than marble from Paros, while Strabo<sup>44</sup> is authority for the statement that Luna's marble, both white and mottled bluish-gray, was so plentiful and excellent that it furnished material for most of Rome's great buildings. Rutilius Namatianus in speaking of Luna's buildings and walls describes the marble as flashing with soft gleam, and in whiteness surpassing that of lilies or untouched snow.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Varro, *De Re Rust.* I, 2, 6; Horace, *Sat.* II, 4, 69; 8, 45; Juvenal v, 86.

<sup>32</sup> Horace, *Carm.* II, 6, 15 f.

<sup>33</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* VIII, 190: *Alba [lana] circumpadanis nulla praefertur.*

<sup>34</sup> Pliny, *ibid.*: *lana laudatissima A pulia.*

<sup>35</sup> Columella VII, 2, 3; Martial II, 43, 4: *vel quam [togam] seposito de grege Parma dedit.* Strabo (v, 1, 12) says Mutina and the surrounding district produced a soft wool which was the best of all.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* VIII, 190: [*oves*] *circa Tarentum Canusiumque summam nobilitatem habent.* Here on account of their fine fleeces the sheep were protected by blankets made of skins (Varro, *De Re Rust.* II, 2, 18; Horace, *Carm.* II, 6, 10).

<sup>37</sup> *N.H.* XXI, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Geraldine P. Dilla, "Greek Temples at Paestum," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVII (1932), 343: "Its [Paestum's] distinction was its perfumed girdle—an endless expanse of meadows of fragrant pink, white, and red roses, bordering on the sea. The great pride of Paestum was that it had made itself the happy and generous dispenser of roses even to distant cities . . . Spreading over the walls, the houses, and the temples, this splendor of roses became famous afar and excited the imagination of lovers and poets."

<sup>39</sup> Vergil, *Geor.* IV, 119.    <sup>40</sup> IV, 5, 61.    <sup>41</sup> VI, 80.

<sup>42</sup> *De Rosis Nasc.* 11 f. (p. 409 f. ed. Peiper).

<sup>43</sup> *N.H.* XXXVI, 14.    <sup>44</sup> V, 2, 5.    <sup>45</sup> II, 65-68.

As for the metallic wealth of Italy, several ancient writers concur in praising it. Vergil, in a passage already considered,<sup>46</sup> tells us that Italy had deposits of silver, copper, and gold within its veins. Pliny asserts that it abounded in silver, copper, and iron, and that it would yield to no other country were it not for an ancient decree of the Roman senate, which forbade the exploitation of these metals.<sup>47</sup> Pliny also mentions<sup>48</sup> the occurrence of gold in the Po, and Strabo says<sup>49</sup> there were mines at Vercellae and near Aquileia. Celebrated, to be sure, were the rich iron veins of the Island of Ilva (Elba)<sup>50</sup> off the coast of Etruria, but the flattering accounts of Italy's wealth in other metals seem to be patriotic overstatements.<sup>51</sup>

We may now consider in greater detail some of Italy's natural features, e.g., its mountains. Horace calls Lucretilis (Monte Genaro), the highest peak of the Sabine mountains near his country estate, charming (*amoenum*), and honors it as the place to which fleet Faunus (identified with Pan) comes from Arcadian Lycaeus, to protect his goats from summer's fiery heat and rainy wind.<sup>52</sup> The summits of the Apennines are lofty and are snow-covered full one-half of the year, hence it is natural that these aspects of their beauty should be described by the poets. Vergil<sup>53</sup> in admiration speaks of "father Apennine lifting his snowy crest exultingly to the sky," and Silius Italicus<sup>54</sup> of "Apennine that with his snowy mass raises his head in rivalry with the Alps." Vesuvius, although ever exquisite in form and color, is celebrated for the beauty of its vine-clad sides rather than as mountain scenery. No one who has ever read it can easily forget Martial's contrast<sup>55</sup> between the

<sup>46</sup> *Geor.* II, 165 f.

<sup>47</sup> *N.H.* III, 138; XXXIII, 78; XXXVII, 202.

<sup>48</sup> *N.H.* XXXIII, 66.

<sup>49</sup> IV, 6, 12; V, 1, 12.

<sup>50</sup> Vergil, *Aen.* X, 174: *insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis*; Pliny, *N.H.* III, 81; XXXIV, 142; Rutilius Namatianus I, 351-354: *occurrit chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis, / qua nihil uberius Norica gleba tulit*.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1927), 1: "Gold was never found in the peninsula, and but little silver. Iron and copper were mined only in a narrow strip of Etruria, too circumscribed to entice many Romans into industries." Cf. *id.*, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933), I, 264.

<sup>52</sup> *Carm.* I, 17, 1-4.

<sup>53</sup> *Aen.* XII, 702 f.

<sup>54</sup> II, 313 f.

<sup>55</sup> IV, 44.

beauty of its slopes before the volcanic upheaval, so verdant with shading vines, and the melancholy ruin after the catastrophe, with every living thing a prey to flames and ashes.

Rivers and their setting are sometimes described by the single epithet *amoenus*, which here marks them as a pleasing diversity of the landscape, as it does the Adige and the Tiber.<sup>56</sup> It is the picturesque beauty of a river hard by Vergil's boyhood home that the poet admires when speaking<sup>57</sup> of the "great Mincius that wanders in slow windings and fringes his banks with slender reeds." In the younger Pliny's time the Anio between Tibur and its junction with the Tiber was noted for beautiful villas along its course, hence this author<sup>58</sup> calls it "the most charming of rivers." Horace<sup>59</sup> and Silius Italicus<sup>60</sup> praise the gentle flow and placid beauty of the Liris, referring thus particularly to the river's lower course, today called the Garigliano. Vergil's alluring description of the Tiber when Aeneas entered its unknown waters may be an idyllic picture, or the cheerful colors may be there because the poet drew the setting as he saw it. Whatever the truth, few readers of the *Aeneid* will fail to recall the lovely scene,<sup>61</sup> a mighty forest bordering the banks of the stream; the river with its swift eddies, and the burden of its yellow sand breaking into the main; and around and above birds of varied plumage, constant tenants of the bank and stream, lulling the air with their sweet notes and flying among the woods. But the stream most frequently mentioned and doubtless most deserving of its reputation is the Clitumnus in Umbria, rising from a crystal-clear and very copious spring, whose waters finally reach the Tiber. Its fame was in part due to a fine local breed of snow-white cattle, whose color was thought to result from their drinking the pure water of the stream and feeding upon the luxuriant pastures of the adjoining valley.<sup>62</sup> The river was personified as a god, whose temple stood near the source, a feature mentioned by Pliny, who describes the fount and river in some detail.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Vergil, *Aen.* VIII, 31; IX, 680.    <sup>57</sup> Vergil, *Geor.* III, 14 f.    <sup>58</sup> *Epist.* VIII, 17, 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Carm.* I, 31, 7 f.

<sup>60</sup> IV, 348-350.

<sup>61</sup> *Aen.* VII, 29-34.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Geor.* II, 146-148; Juvenal XII, 13; Propertius II, 19, 25 f.: "Where Clitumnus shrouds his fair stream in his own beloved grove, and with his waters laves the snow-white kine."

<sup>63</sup> *Epist.* VIII, 8.

the spring, at the foot of a hill covered with venerable cyprus trees, bursting forth into a pool so glassy clear that one may count the pebbles at its bottom; the river's banks clothed with ash and poplar trees, whose green is reflected in the icy-cold translucent water; and nearby a temple wherein is a shrine to the river god Clitumnus, the walls of which bear many an inscription in praise of the river and its tutelary deity.

There is little to show that the Romans appreciated the beauty of their lakes. Vergil's reference, in a passage discussed above, to the great lakes of the north seems to refer merely to their size and usefulness as highways of travel and commerce. To be sure the charm of Catullus' villa, immortalized in one of his best-known lyrics,<sup>64</sup> is due largely to his description of a single feature of its surroundings, the transparent waters of the *Lago di Garda* with its innumerable ripples laughing in very joy of welcome to the owner of the villa returning from Asia—waters which, owing to the orientation of the lake, reflected the sun's rays during most of the daylight hours. Just so the praise of the *Lago di Como* has its basis for the most part in its beautiful surroundings. Claudian mentions the shady olive trees with which its banks are clothed and its fresh-water crests which rise in imitation of the waves of the sea.<sup>65</sup> Praise of this lake's surroundings is, however, sung most fully by Cassiodorus:<sup>66</sup>

In the background are lofty mountains whose slopes are studded with bright villas; below these extends a girdle of olive trees; above the villas are vineyards, while still farther up are thick chestnut forests; and from the hillsides streams of snowy clearness come dashing down into the lake.

Hot springs were not a rare phenomenon in various parts of ancient Italy, as indeed thermal springs and sources of sulphurous and other vapors are not rare today. A celebrated source of hot mineral waters at Aponus (near Padua) is called a "boon to mankind" by Silius Italicus,<sup>67</sup> and is eulogized by Cassiodorus<sup>68</sup> as a marvelous provision of nature, whereby the opposing elements of fire and water are so harmoniously blended as to soothe pain and remove the ailments of man. Claudian in a poem of a hundred

<sup>64</sup> XXXI.

<sup>65</sup> *De Bell. Goth.* 319 f.

<sup>66</sup> *Variae* XI, 14.

<sup>67</sup> XII, 218.

<sup>68</sup> *Variae* II, 39.

verses,<sup>69</sup> after lauding this spring's potency in prolonging life for the dwellers of Antenor's city, continues:

Hail to thee, stream, generous giver of the waters of healing, chief glory of the land of Italy, source for soothing a country's pain, common helper of those who minister cure, and a present deity for whose aid there is naught to pay. . . . Happy ye whose lot it is to possess Aponus for your own!

Most frequently mentioned, most important because of their mineral properties, and most popular because of their enchanting surroundings were the hot springs of Baiae, than which, says Pliny,<sup>70</sup> none anywhere were more copious or more beneficial to sufferers, because of their different mineral qualities and varying temperatures. Also held in great repute were the springs near Sinuessa,<sup>71</sup> whose mild climate was believed to add to their efficacy. Thither went the Emperor Claudius for the recovery of his health because of its mild climate and salubrious waters.<sup>72</sup> But in renown far exceeding any Roman hot spring, indeed of such fame as few fountains of earth have known, is the *Fons Bandusiae* of Horace's Sabine estate.<sup>73</sup> Once he mentions its never failing flow;<sup>74</sup> again he says<sup>75</sup> it is so copious that it might fittingly give its name to the Digentia, "than which the Hebrus that winds his way through Thrace is not more cool, is not more pure." Nothing less than the tenderest feeling for this fountain's beauty and purity, and its

<sup>69</sup> *Carm. Min.* xxvi.

<sup>70</sup> *N.H.* xxxi, 2, 4 f. Strabo also says (v, 2, 9) these springs were the most widely renowned of all known to him.

<sup>71</sup> Martial vi, 42, 5; Silius Italicus viii, 527.

<sup>72</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* xii, 66.

<sup>73</sup> After having visited two sites claimed for this spring, that at Palazzo San Gervasio, some six miles from Venusia, and that of the Sabine farm, the writer is convinced that the spring of the latter is the one which Horace has immortalized. So far as we know the poet never returned to his native surroundings. It would be strange indeed for him to refer so feelingly to an object like a spring (not a great landmark as is Mount Vultur, not very near his home, and hardly an object of daily intimacy), the association with which had been severed by long lapse of years. Cf. Frank, *Catullus and Horace*: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1928), 185 f.: "Bandusia becomes a matter of religious faith to every devotee of Horace. . . . My Bandusia [of the Sabine estate] is the only spring I know of that has the picturesque situation and the generous rush of water that would merit comparison with Castalia and Hippocrene."

<sup>74</sup> *Sat.* ii, 6, 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Epist.* i, 16, 12-14.

contribution to his own serenity of soul could have caused Horace to dedicate to its praise the celebrated ode in which he speaks of the spring as more clear than crystal, as safely protected from the dog-star's fury, and as bringing a delicious refreshment to weary bullocks and wandering sheep with its waters that leap babbling from the hollow rocks.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Carm.* III, 13.

## THE *SEISACHTHEIA* AND INFLATION

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Classicists delight in drawing parallels between the world in which they live and the world in which they think, and their hearts warm toward those outside their own profession who illustrate the present by allusions to the past. Prohibition found its analogy in the suppressive discipline of ancient Sparta, and now the monetary measures of our government are compared with the reforms of Solon the Athenian.

When Solon legislated for the Athenians at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., he introduced a measure for the relief of debtors, called *seisachtheia* and a change in the currency. These reforms are usually understood to have consisted of two distinct measures, the one, a cancelation of debts, the other, an increase of the coinage. Some, however, believe that this legislation should be referred to only one measure—the increase of the coinage, and that the so-called cancelation of debts was merely the practical reduction of principal and interest resulting naturally from the devaluation of the currency. Certainly there is evidence for each view,<sup>1</sup> but when, in the interest of either view, part of the evidence is ignored, whether consciously or unconsciously, then the impression is misleading.

In an editorial entitled "The New *Seisachthea*," which appeared in a recent issue of a leading newspaper,<sup>2</sup> the writer unconsciously assumed as a proved fact the identity of the *Seisachtheia* and the reform of the currency and measures. He says in part:

<sup>1</sup> For the literature on the subject see *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv, 620–623; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 259, n. 2; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., *Σεισάχθεια*, Solon. The general opinion, now as in antiquity, favors a cancelation of debts, though there is disagreement as to the extent of its application.

<sup>2</sup> *The New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1934.

This [the *Seisacthea*] was the name given to the ordinance of Solon, meaning "a shaking off of burdens." Specifically, it referred to the burdens of debt. Plutarch's comment is that this term meant both the lessening of the interest on obligations ("which sufficiently pleased the people") and enlarging the "measures," and "raising the value" of money as follows: "He made a pound which before passed for seventy-three drachmas go for a hundred, so that, though the number of pieces in the payment was equal, the value was less, which proved a considerable benefit to those that were to discharge great debts.

But, surprisingly, he adds that this implied "no loss to the creditors."<sup>3</sup>

Another writer<sup>4</sup> says:

The first deliberate inflation of the currency which we know about was the comparatively mild step in this direction which took place in 596 B.C. at Athens in the course of the reforms brought about by the wise Solon. . . . In Athens at this time there were in general circulation only the coins of Aegina. Athens apparently had as yet no coinage of her own. All business was carried on and accounts made out in the currency of Aegina, the most important denomination of which was the stater or two-drachma piece. This coin weighed about 12½ grammes, and fifty of them (that is, 100 drachmas of 6½ grammes) went to the Aeginetan mina. Solon desired above all else to be eminently fair to all parties, to assist the oppressed debtors without causing too much injury to the creditor classes (would that that principle were more in evidence today). He therefore introduced the Euboic mina, also divided into 100 drachmas. But note that the Euboic mina was equal in weight to only 70 Aeginetan drachms. Thus, while the debtors paid their principal and interest in the same number of drachms, they did it with a drachma weighing only 4.21 grammes as against the Aeginetan of 6.25. . . . Not only did Solon do this, but he also increased the weights and measures in general use, so that the purchaser got more in quantity for his lighter drachma. As Androtion says, Solon did not cancel the debts . . . but moderated the interest. Debtors paid the same number of drachmas which they had borrowed, but in drachms of less weight, "thus those who had sums to pay were gainers, while those who received them were no losers."<sup>5</sup>

This writer ignores the evidence for the existence of a separate measure for the relief of debtors by the cancelation of their obliga-

<sup>3</sup> "Plutarch's comment" (*Sol.* 15) is a quotation of Androtion's opinion.

<sup>4</sup> Edward T. Newell, "Inflation in Ancient Times, as Exemplified by Coinage," *Numismatist*, XLVII (1934), 19.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, I, 1, 364) dates Solon's archonship in 594 or 592 B.C.

tions and assumes that this relief was the direct result of inflation.

It is not my purpose, primarily, to try to refute Androtion and the other ancient authorities who held the same view,<sup>6</sup> and it may be a fact that Solon's increase of the currency did produce the result described by Androtion—after its introduction. However, it is not fair to charge inflation with operating to produce the specific effect called the *Seisachtheia*, if the latter occurred before the enactment of the former, and was, in reality, the cancelation of debts. For this view of the case the evidence is so strong that it deserves restating, even though it is well known.

First, let us look at the expressions used for the action on the debts. The word generally used by Aristotle,<sup>7</sup> and also by Plutarch,<sup>8</sup> is ἀποκοπή,<sup>9</sup> "cutting off." Percy Gardner<sup>10</sup> says that this word means "mutilation rather than destruction" and translates it as "cutting down," and he believes that "the proceeding of Solon might be regarded equally well in either aspect, as a diminution of the debt, or as a lightening of the interest." Thus he would bring the accounts of Aristotle and Plutarch into harmony with Androtion's view that the relief of debtors was the result of the increase of the currency.

The following two passages are cited<sup>11</sup> to show that ἀποκοπή, as applied to debts, means "cancelation."

Andocides, I, 88: τὰς μὲν δίκας, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ τὰς διαίτας ἐποιήσατε κυρίας εἶναι, ὁπόσαι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ (τῇ) πόλει ἐγένοντο, ὅπως μῆτε χρεῶν ἀποκοπαὶ εἶεν μῆτε δίκαι ἀνάδικοι γίγνοιτο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων αἱ πράξεις εἶεν.

Plato, *Rep.* 565E, 566A: ἀρ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ὅς ἂν δήμου προεστώς, λαβὼν σφόδρα πειθόμενον ὄχλον, μὴ ἀπόσχηται ἐμφυλίου αἵματος, ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἐπαιτιώμενος, οἷα δὴ φιλοῦσιν, εἰς δικαστήρια ἄγων μαιφονῇ, βίον ἀνδρὸς ἀφανίζων, γλώττη τε καὶ στόματι ἀνοσίφ' γευόμενος φόβου συγγενοῦς, καὶ

<sup>6</sup> Very little of the tradition, as we have it, antedates the fourth century, and, as Beloch observes (*loc. cit.* n. 1) at that time the exact nature of the *Seisachtheia* was no longer known.

<sup>7</sup> *Const. of Athens*, vi, 1, 2; x, 1; xi, 2; xii, 4; xiii, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* 15; *Mor.* 807E.

<sup>9</sup> Used also by Heraclides (i, 5 = *FHG*, ii, 208), and Hesychius, s.v. Σεισάχθεια.

<sup>10</sup> *History of Ancient Coinage*, 146.

<sup>11</sup> Liddell and Scott, rev. ed., s.v. ἀπο-κοπέομαι.

ἀνδρηλατῇ καὶ ἀποκτιννύῃ καὶ ὑποσημαίνῃ χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμόν.<sup>12</sup>

It is impossible to harmonize the word ἀποκοπή with Androtion's view, and Androtion himself does not try to do so, for, instead of using it and putting his own interpretation upon it, he rejects it specifically in favor of another word, μετρίότης.<sup>13</sup>

At the time when the action on debts was taken there occurred an incident which is important in this connection. Advance information of Solon's proposed action became known to several of his friends, who used it for speculation. "These persons," says Aristotle,<sup>14</sup> "borrowed money and bought up a large amount of land, and so, when, a short time afterwards, all debts were canceled, they became wealthy."<sup>15</sup> Plutarch adds that Solon, to clear himself of the suspicion of implication, canceled the obligations of his personal debtors *in full, according to the law*.<sup>16</sup>

It seems clear from the above evidence that both Aristotle and Plutarch conceived the *Seisachtheia* to be a sweeping<sup>17</sup> cancelation of debts, and that the acceptance of Androtion's view simply charges Aristotle and Plutarch, as well as most of the ancient authorities whom the latter consulted, with a complete misunderstanding of Solon's action.

Second, we come to the argument from probability, based upon the circumstances of the case. Aristotle repeatedly emphasizes the growth of economic depression and social unrest during the years preceding Solon. He says:

There was contention for a long time between the upper classes and the populace. . . . The poorer classes, men, women, and children, were the serfs

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, p. 21, n. The other expressions which are used by our sources are consistent with the interpretation of ἀποκοπή as "cancelation": Plutarch, *Sol.* 15, f.; Philochorus, fr. 57 (*FHG*, I, 393 f.); Diogenes Laertius I, 45; Dionysius of Halicarnassus v, 65, 1; Dio Chrysostom xxxi, 69.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, vi, 2.

<sup>15</sup> This and the following quotations from Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* are in Kenyon's translation.

<sup>16</sup> *Sol.* 15: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐνθὺς ἐλύθη τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις τοσαῦτα γὰρ εὐρέθη δανείζων καὶ ταῦτα πρῶτος ἀφῆκε κατὰ τὸν νόμον. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Adcock (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv, 38) thinks it most unlikely that Solon "went beyond the grievance and cancelled also commercial debts and contracts in which personal servitude was not involved."

of the rich. . . . They cultivated the lands of the rich at the rent of a sixth part of the produce. The whole country was in the hands of a few persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent they were liable to be haled into slavery, and their children with them. All loans were secured upon the debtor's person, a custom which prevailed until the time of Solon. . . . But the hardest and bitterest part of the constitution in the eyes of the masses was their state of serfdom.<sup>18</sup>

Again, at the end of the description of Draco's constitution:

Any person who felt himself wronged might lay an information before the Council of Areopagus, on declaring what law was broken by the wrong done to him. But, as has been said before, loans were secured upon the persons of the debtors, and the land was in the hands of a few.<sup>19</sup>

The situation develops rapidly to its crisis:

Seeing that such was the organization of the constitution, and that the many were in slavery to the few, the people rose against the upper class. The strife was keen, and for a long time the two parties were face to face with one another, till at last, by common consent, they appointed Solon to be mediator and archon, and committed the whole constitution to his hands.<sup>20</sup>

Plutarch's account is similar, and he adds the information that the most and strongest were banding together and were calling upon one another not to put up with conditions, but to choose one trustworthy man as leader, to free the defaulters, to redivide the land, and to change the constitution completely.<sup>21</sup>

After reading this description one cannot help feeling that the condition of the country was desperate and that relief could be secured only by quick and radical action by an individual whose word should be final. The quicker remedy, cancelation of debts, fits the situation better than the slower process of changing the currency.

Solon, in one of his poems,<sup>22</sup> states the result of his reform in terms too strong to be explained by a mere lessening of principal and interest through inflation. He says:

O mighty mother of the Olympian gods,  
Dark Earth, thou best canst witness, from whose breast  
I swept the pillars broad-cast planted there,

<sup>18</sup> *Const. of Athens*, II.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 1, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Sol.* 13.

<sup>22</sup> Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, XII.

And made thee free, who hadst been slave of yore.  
 And many a man whom fraud or law had sold  
 Far from his god-built land, an outcast slave,  
 I brought again to Athens; yea, and some,  
 Exiles from home through debt's oppressive load,  
 Speaking no more the dear Athenian tongue,  
 But wandering far and wide, I brought again;  
 And those that here in vilest slavery  
 Crouched 'neath a master's frown, I set them free.  
 Thus might and right were yoked in harmony,  
 Since by the force of law I won my ends  
 And kept my promise.

Subsequent events show that Solon's legislation did not prove acceptable to the people. "Some found the cause and justification of their discontent in the abolition of debts, because thereby they had been reduced to poverty."<sup>23</sup> Later, those "who had been deprived of the debts due to them, from motives of poverty" joined the party of Pisistratus.<sup>24</sup> And the poor were dissatisfied because Solon did not divide up the land.<sup>25</sup> Solon's act had been too radical for the rich, not radical enough for the poor.<sup>26</sup> This result is best explained by an outright cancellation of debts.

Regarding the order of legislation, Aristotle says:

As soon as he was at the head of affairs, Solon liberated the people once and for all by prohibiting all loans on the security of the debtor's person: and at the same time he made laws by which he canceled all debts, public and private. This measure is commonly called the *Seisachtheia*, since thereby the people had their loads removed from them. . . .<sup>27</sup> Next Solon drew up a constitution and enacted new laws. . . .<sup>28</sup> Before the period of his legislation he made his abolition of debts, and after it his increase in the standards of weights and measures, and of the currency.<sup>29</sup>

The order of events is given thus: (1) abolition of debts, (2) general legislation, (3) increase of the currency. Plutarch<sup>30</sup> also gives the

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 3. Cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 16.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 5.

<sup>25</sup> Plutarch, *loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> As Aly says (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Σόλων), "the cancelation of debts and the redistribution of land are the slogans of the radicals down to the end of the Roman republic." It seems most probable that Solon conceded the former, while he denied the latter.

<sup>27</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, VI, 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Sol.* 15. So also Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.*

cancelation of debts as Solon's first act. Both Aristotle and Plutarch regard the cancelation of debts as emergency legislation, which is distinct from the change in currency.

The evidence of Aristotle and Plutarch is clearly in favor of interpreting the *Seisachtheia* as an act of cancelation, distinct from, and prior to, the monetary reform. Recognition of the force of this evidence is, unfortunately, distasteful to some, particularly at the present time, for it deprives them of a splendid illustration of the direct effect of inflation.

In drawing parallels one should keep in mind the many differences between an ancient city-state and a modern territorial state such as our own. The analogies between Solon's legislation and ours seem to me to be general, rather than specific. The *Seisachtheia* may be compared with the emergency measures adopted at the beginning of the present administration. The object of each was to relieve the immediate pressure of conditions. Through Solon's act the state summarily canceled the obligations between citizen and citizen and between citizen and State. While the debtor was freed from servitude and debt, he was still left economically dependent. The burden of relief for the debtor was borne by the creditor. On the other hand, our government did not arbitrarily disturb existing obligations but provided direct relief for the needy and work for the unemployed and, in general, sought to establish conditions through which the debtor might be enabled to work out his own financial salvation. Thus the burden of relief does not fall upon the creditor class only but is assumed by the government and passed on to all the taxpayers of a given financial rating.

As to the monetary reform itself, we cannot dogmatize upon the object and the specific results<sup>31</sup> of the devaluation of the drachma

<sup>31</sup> Seltman (*Athens, its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion*, 16-18) says that Solon adopted "a standard the same as that already in use at Corinth" and Cyrene . . . "a far-sighted reform that would open the way to the world-markets," especially Egypt, "and to prosperity for Athens." Cf. Adcock, *op. cit.*, 39. Milne says (*JHS*, L [1930], 184): "Practically what the reform of Solon meant was the stabilisation of the Attic drachma and its embodiment in a national coinage, whereby he secured the Attic farmers against the money lenders who exploited foreign exchange values, and gave the Athenian traders a definite basis for prices in a currency guaranteed by the

involved in the increase of the currency. Despite Plutarch's naively optimistic explanation,<sup>22</sup> we do know that domestic conditions went from bad to worse, and that a higher standard of coinage was introduced later, probably by Pisistratus.

The events of the years following Solon's legislation are instructive but not necessarily prophetic of an analogy in our own situation. Solon's remedial measures, whatever temporary relief they gave, still left the old system intact—the rich and the poor and the gulf between. There was compromise but no settlement. The result was natural. As soon as one faction found a leader who combined the qualities of strength, personality, and diplomacy, that faction triumphed—and it was the under-privileged class.

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State. This accords with the belief, which is generally held, that there had been no Attic coinage before Solon's time: the silver money in circulation in Attica was unquestionably Aeginetan or of the Aeginetan standard, and, if there had been coins struck by Athens on this standard, the substitution for them of a new coinage on a lighter standard would have advantaged the State, but not the farmers: the benefit which the farmers derived from the Solonian reform was largely implicit in the supersession of a foreign currency by a native one."

<sup>22</sup> Milne (*op. cit.*, 182) thinks there is some justification for this explanation, "since the receivers were in as good a position as before, so long as they confined their operations to the Athenian market: it was only those who were engaged in international finance who would suffer."

## BETWEEN SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS<sup>1</sup>

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As a beginning, let us accept Homer's picture of Scylla and Charybdis in the translation of A. T. Murray, Professor Emeritus of Greek at Stanford University:

Now on the other path are two cliffs, one of which reaches with its sharp peak to the broad heaven and a dark cloud surrounds it. This never melts away, nor does clear sky ever surround that peak in summer or in harvest time. No mortal man could scale it or set foot upon the top, not though he had twenty hands and feet; for the rock is smooth, as if it were polished. And in the midst of the cliff is a dim cave. Therein dwells Scylla—yelping horribly. . . . But the other cliff is lower—they are close to each other; and on it is a great fig tree with rich foliage, but beneath this divine Charybdis sucks down the black water.<sup>2</sup>

Now, permit me to change the wording of the picture. Scylla occupies her inaccessible cave, surrounded by ablatives of accordance and of source, subjunctives of characteristic, protases and apodoses in indirect discourse, and other strong and firmly rooted plants which have flourished about her dwelling-place for centuries. For the modern youth without the benefit of the scaling ladders and ropes of English grammar, transfer of training, rote memorization, and unquestioning obedience, the cliff inhabited by Scylla—now called "Latin Language"—is nearly insurmountable. Shall we encourage him to steer to the right and try to climb the cliff only to have him return to us disheartened and discouraged by his attempt to reach the (to him) inaccessible abode of the enchantress? Have you forgotten the six men sacrificed to Scylla in Homer's story?

<sup>1</sup> Read at the thirty-third annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Nashville, March 25, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey*, with an English Translation by A. T. Murray, Vol. I (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1919), excerpts from *Od.* XII, 73-104.

Charybdis (also called "Latin Language") situated on the extreme left, lives among lower and more accessible rocks, so close to the shore that the ripples and bubbles of motivation, aptitudes and skills, practical purposes of education, social interests, functional approach beset the entrance with a great roaring which almost deafens the ears of the curious who approach in fear and trembling. Only the brave in spirit will go near this whirlpool.

Forget our title for the time being and visit with me two classes in high-school Latin meeting in the same community on the same day. As we stand in the hall near the entrance to Miss Scylla's classroom we find students repeating declensions and conjugations in nervous, strained voices. If we inquire the reason for this, we are told in tearful tones: "We don't understand *why*, but we have to learn this rigamarole. Teacher says we'll understand it some time if we just keep on memorizing." We follow them into class, covered by the mantle of invisibility borrowed from Aeneas and Achates. Books are closed, discipline is almost military. At the command of the teacher, pupils "stand and recite orally" or "pass to the board and write." At the end of the period another declension is assigned to be memorized, and so the drudgery goes on until five noun declensions, four conjugations of verbs, three adjective declensions, and all the irregular nouns, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns are memorized. Interspersed with these lessons on forms there may be some learning of rules of syntax exemplified by the translation of sentences with as little connection with one another as the following:

1. The old man on his death-bed called his sons to him.
2. Advancing to the front line, he addressed the troops and ordered them to attack.

or

1. The women are approaching.
2. Friendship remains.
3. Numa comes but does not stay.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast and so, day after day, with tears and dissatisfaction the majority of students in this class continue. The more they commit to memory, the easier it becomes, and finally the survivors can memorize almost painlessly.

Some students thoroughly enjoy this cultivation of memory and are given excellent grades by the teacher in charge.

They are the ones, usually, for whom the translation work of the second year is so difficult. Now they are encouraged to do their own work—not to memorize the translation of some one else, be he Loeb Library author or fellow-student. This change in approach is difficult in the extreme. Such students can memorize five lines or even ten, but when the class is asked to think the specific problem of translation through, it becomes confusion worse confounded for the students whose minds are still a hodge-podge of forms and rules—memorized but only partially understood. If they are given a start with *expectāvi* they can finish it perfectly with the perfect endings and long marks in their proper places, but when they meet *Copiae hostium exercitum Romanum expectāverunt*, it takes a long time to locate and translate the verb form correctly.

Now, let's visit the other school building. Here there is no need for invisibility, but we do need to be on the alert to keep from being bumped into and jostled by a group of "ninth-graders" running toward the Latin room. If we keep our balance and follow them, we shall find each one (as long as there is room at the board) taking from the teacher a slip of paper with some directions on it. It may read: "*pōnō* and *portō*, present and future tense" or "decline *fortis* in all genders." This is not very different from the directions given in Miss Scylla's class but the student attitude is very different. Ask a question about why they are doing this and the answer is forthcoming. "We need to know the different tense forms in order to read our Latin stories. This is one way to learn them. Teacher gives us extra credit if we can finish the four tense forms before the class bell rings." The "extra credit" may be Madame Charybdis' "motivation," these students may be "showing aptitudes and acquiring skills" but the difference in student attitude and in results which carry over into second year is what interests me. To these students, although they came last September to their first Latin class without a knowledge of pronouns, clauses, tenses, cases, and conjugations, Latin from the first day has been a language with a story to tell. When they have met a new form in action, they have been interested to see where it be-

longed in the declension or conjugation, and when they understand what they are learning and why, there is a real eagerness for mastery.

They were able to translate "*Frāter rēgis erat patruus filiōrum rēgis*" before they were *sure* that *rēgis* was a genitive singular and certainly before they could decline a third declension noun. They approach Madame Charybdis with questions like the following: "*Patrum* looks like an accusative singular form but that won't fit in here. What else *can* it be?" Their teacher has two courses open to her. She may say, "Why, that's the ending for Genitive Plural of third declension," or she may raise a counter-question: "What case *would* fit in, in this sentence?" They get themselves into difficulties caused by logical thinking, wrongly applied, like the "ninth-grader" who had been studying signs for future tense and then translated *tibi* (a form new to him) as "you will."

To one interested in helping students to attain the ability to read and comprehend Latin, neither Miss Scylla's way nor that of Madame Charybdis seems perfect. Probably there is no *one* perfect way for all teachers of any subject. Guy M. Wilson, of Boston University, has said (*Education*, Foreword, February, 1937):

The teacher who uses only a single technique is no further along in the teaching game than is the golfer who plays the entire course with a single club. The above-average good golfer carries from ten to fourteen clubs. The good teacher needs a battery of techniques—some of which are in constant use—others of which apply to certain types of subject matter or under special circumstances. Teaching is not a one-club game.

But (to return to our title) may there not be a smoother course to our destination than the steep cliff inhabited by Scylla or the uproarious confusion caused by Charybdis? Certainly there are excellent teachers whose methods belong in both schools of thought. Because one believes in the grammar method, it is not necessary to insist, as a friend of mine does: "I've taught it this way for twenty years and I'm not going to change now." Because one believes in the motivated approach based on student interest, it is not necessary to spend valuable class time carving soap statues and building Caesar's bridges. There is a stretch of smooth and swift water affording a clear passage between Scylla and Charybdis. There are points of agreement between the two extremes of

belief in methods. Both sides agree that their aim is to help students to read and comprehend Latin; both agree that a knowledge of vocabulary is essential to this ability. Some argue that a knowledge of forms memorized in paradigms is of vast assistance; others insist that mere recognition of the forms is all that is needed for accurate understanding. One group recognizes translation as the only valid proof of understanding; another section will accept Latin answers to Latin questions as proof of comprehension.

The time has passed when teachers of the "old school"—if you care to use that term—can shrug their shoulders and say: "Latin never has been taught that way. It can't be done." It *has* been done. Students have been taught and tested by unbiased educators who were seeking for facts—not theories.

J. Wayne Wrightstone, in *School and Society* for August 31, 1935, concludes an appraisal of newer practices in teaching with

vitalized language approach, reading Latin as Latin, use of many easy Latin texts, functional study of grammar, and *realia* do not detract from scholarship in Latin. If anything, these practices enrich pupil achievement both in measurable and unmeasurable outcomes.

What would constitute a safe strait between the rocks of our imaginary Scylla on the one hand and the waves of Charybdis on the other? Each instructor must make his own choice, including his own favorite foibles and excluding his pet peeves.

One course of procedure which has proved practical includes the following concepts. (1) Latin is a language. The students are interested in language or they wouldn't be in this class. Let's not lose this language interest. (2) Reading or speaking any language aloud is often the first step toward understanding its ideas. There is something in the sound of the spoken words which helps the mind to grasp the thought of a passage. Since most of us have little opportunity for speaking conversational Latin, our alternative course is to read Latin aloud as an aid to understanding. Here again you will find students interested in their own ability to read a foreign tongue—again a real language interest. (3) Latin cannot be understood without attention to forms and endings. It is essential that our students realize the importance of these endings. Perhaps the simplest way to achieve mastery of the forms is by learning them in the orderly paradigm form *after* they have first occurred in

connected discourse and after the students' interest has in this way been directed toward them. For the third time—this is a language interest. Let's cultivate it. (4) No language can be perfectly understood without a knowledge of vocabulary. The most interesting way to learn new words is to meet them in connected sentences which tell a story. If the words are met often enough they become part of the reader's equipment. My students like to review by use of a word list the meanings of the words which they have already met several times in their Latin reading. This is where they drill on principal parts and English meanings. But this drill comes after they have had considerable experience with the words in context. (5) Latin *can* be understood without translation, but it is difficult to prove understanding without translation. Possibly this may be due to the training of Latin teachers. One of my colleagues suggests that translation is the easiest way for the teacher to assure herself of the students' understanding and hence the one most used. Suppose, in considering this point we accept the fact that there are two kinds of reading in any language; one, the slow and careful method where the subject-matter is so valuable that every word must be considered and appreciated; the other, the method of reading for the story, employed by most of us in our reading of English or any other modern language. Material of the first kind is worth careful translation. Perhaps the reading of the second type may be one step in a careful translation program. At any rate, let's keep up the *interest* in reading Latin as a language of ideas. Why not have the same class read some of each type of material? They will enjoy the variety.

Here we have five ideas collected from experience on both sides of the channel in several years of experience. It is not necessary to cling high and dry to the rocks of Scylla nor be dashed about breathlessly in the waves of Charybdis. Horace was not wrong, even with respect to methods of teaching Latin, when he said:

Auream quisquis mediocritatem  
diligit, tutus caret obsoleti  
sordibus tecti. . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Carm.* II, 10, 5-7.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

### THE SUPERLATIVE AS A COMPARATIVE IN JOHN I, 15

Even the most casual reader of New Testament Greek has noticed the use of the superlative in *John* I, 15, *ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν*, a superlative that cannot be transferred into English—hence the translation “for he was before me.” The Vulgate gives no hint of the original superlative in its *quia prior me erat*. In general this superlative in *John* is thought to be due to the fact that the disciple was not a Greek but learned the Greek language after reaching maturity. There is an exact parallel in the hypothesis to Euripides’ *Phoenissae*, an hypothesis assigned to that great authority, Aristophanes the Grammarian. This hypothesis tells that Eteocles and Polynices decided to share the throne of Thebes alternately and that Eteocles as the elder held the throne the first year, *Ἐτεοκλῆς ἄτε πρῶτος ὦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πρῶτος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦψατο*. Scholarship hardly produced a greater master of Greek literature and language than this Aristophanes; hence John had the best possible authority, although he did not know it, when he wrote the to us difficult construction *πρῶτός μου*.

Luke in the first verse of the *Acts* refers to his gospel as *τὸν πρῶτον λόγον*, and on the use of this superlative Sir William Ramsay<sup>1</sup> bases his argument that the superlative must refer to more than two—hence Luke must have written a third book, now lost. The book of the *Acts* does have a most indefinite conclusion, as it leaves Paul still preaching and teaching in a hired house in Rome, with no hint of his final fate. This indefinite ending and the super-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*<sup>2</sup>: New York, G. P. Putnam’s Sons (1898), 23 and 27 f.

lative in the first verse led Sir William to believe that Luke wrote another book which told of the last years and the death of Paul.

He brushes aside the superlative I have quoted from *John*, on the assumption that John had no real mastery of Greek and that his idiom would not apply to Luke, whose Greek is the best of that century; but even Luke had no such grasp of the Greek language as Aristophanes the Grammarian. This hypothesis shows that *πρῶτος* may be used with the genitive as if it were a comparative when but two are involved and also that it may be used without the genitive in an absolute sense when but two are mentioned.

This shows that John here wrote good Greek and it shows that the phrase *τὸν πρῶτον λόγον* can be used of two books and also that, however desirable a third book by Luke might have been, there is nothing in the first verse of the *Acts* to suggest it.

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#### NOTE ON THE *LUDUS DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS*

In *Apocolocyntosis* vi Fever, who is trying to disparage the literary pretensions of Claudius, points out that the old prevaricator, with all his Homeric affectations, was born a Gaul and not a Greek; and she goes on to rebuke Hercules for not recognizing this deceit: *Tu autem, qui plura loca calcasti quam ullus mulio perpetuarius, Lugudunensis scire debes et multa milia inter Xanthum et Rhodanum interesse*. Mention of the rivers is, on the face of it, simply a geographical illustration of the distinction which Fever is making; but Birt<sup>1</sup> saw in it something more. He suggested that there were puns concealed in the names of the rivers: that the difference between a Gaul and a Greek is as great not only as the distance from the Rhone to the Xanthus, but also as the difference between "red" and "yellow." To me this seems unlikely, for, although "Xanthus" certainly means "yellow," "Rhodanus" does not ordinarily mean "red"; and one would expect the same kind of pun to lurk in both words.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Theodor Birt, *De Senecae Apocolocyntosi et Apotheosi Lucubratio* (Ind. Lect. Acad. Marburgensi, hib. 1888-89): Marburg (1888).

The Greek word *ροδανός* is connected with the verb *κραδάω* and means "quivering" or "shaking." If there are puns on these words, I wonder if it is not better to see in "Xanthus" a reference to a "blond man" and in "Rhodanus" a reference to a "shaking man." It is easy to guess who they would be: the "blond man" is clearly Sulpicius Flavus, who we know<sup>2</sup> was a friend and assistant of Claudius in his literary pursuits. Of course, we do not know that he was blond, but "Xanthus" renders "Flavus"; and actually he may have been a Greek who translated his name into Latin. The "shaking man" obviously would be Claudius himself, whose *mobile caput* is twice singled out for satire in the *Apocolocyntosis* (v and vii). If this is true, the author apparently thinks that the literary attainments of his palsied prince are a borrowed accomplishment.

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#### THE SOURCES OF THE SCAMANDER

Κρονιῶ δ' Ἰκανον καλλιρρόω' ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ  
δοιαὶ ἀναίσσουσι Σκαμάνδρον δινήεντος.  
ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς  
γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·  
ἡ δ' ἐτέρῃ θέρεϊ προρέει ἑῖκνῖα χαλάξῃ  
ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἣ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ (*Il.*, xxii, 147-152).

The Homeric commentators are as a body united in regarding this passage as a description of the spot where the Scamander had its sole origin. The assumption is of course at variance with *Il.* xii, 21, where it is implied that the river rises in Mt. Ida, unless we believe that Ilium stood on the slope of that mountain. But the recent studies that have been made in the Troad have gone far toward rendering it certain that the Hissarlik-Troy equation postulated by Schliemann cannot be overthrown.

It should be obvious to even a casual reader of the *Iliad* that this passage presents the same sort of difficulty that is found elsewhere in Homer by reason of the fact that the Homeric poems antedate the period in Greek usage when the definite article functions readily. That is to say, do we have to do here with *the* sources

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Claud.* iv, 5 and xli, 1.

of the Scamander, to the exclusion of the possibility of any other's existing? Or is our attention drawn merely to two *particular* sources out of an indeterminate number? The situation is altogether different from *Od.* xix, 562, where the Gates of Dreams are clearly limited to two; for there we are provided with a detailed description of the situation; here we are in the midst of narrative, and attention is concentrated on the *ἐνθα*.

Out of the twenty-five passages in the Homeric poems in which—in addition to this one—the adjective *δοῖός* occurs, there are at least three that definitely involve the consideration of two persons or things out of a larger existing number. In all these, as here, the plural (not the dual) is found.

1. *Od.* v, 476 f: Odysseus went into the wood and “crept under two bushes . . . one of thorn, the other of olive.”

2. *Il.* v, 206 f: Pandarus wounds “two chieftains” (of the Greeks), “the son of Tydeus and the son of Atreus.”

3. *Il.* xxiii, 194 f: Achilles “prayed to the two winds, Boreas and Zephyrus.”

There is another example that comes close to these, but the accompanying genitive destroys the exact parallelism. In *Il.* iv, 7: “Menelaus has two helpers among the gods, viz. Hera and Athena.”

In each of these instances, as may be observed, the two persons or things are individually defined, immediately after their mention, as in the case of the springs of the Scamander. On the strength of these analogies we are surely justified in assuming that there is no barrier in the way of our interpreting our passage as follows: “They came to the twin fountains; there *two of the springs* of the Scamander gush forth.” Hissarlik lies but a short way from the Kalifatli Asmak, which was in all probability the bed of the Scamander in a time as remote as the Late Bronze Age<sup>1</sup>. These springs, we may suppose, engendered a tributary of the main stream. The total number of the “springs” seems to have been many.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent study cf. Fraser, *The Potamic System of the Trojan Plain*: Charlottesville, Va., Jameson (1937), 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent study of springs cf. *Class. Rev.* LI (1937), 2 f.

## THE BIRTHDAY OF ROME

The approach of the Parilia, April 21, the traditional anniversary of the founding of Rome by Romulus, calls to mind the new Italian towns in the Pontine region. Their foundations have marked the successive steps in the reclamation of the marsh (*paludes Pomptinae*). The drainage of this low, flat region along the coast of southern Latium has been a chronic problem for ancient and modern governments.<sup>1</sup> The classical reader will remember Julius Caesar's grandiose scheme to divert the Tiber from its present course at a point near Rome and direct it clear across Latium into the sea beyond Circeii.<sup>2</sup> The plan was given up at the dictator's death, and nothing so ambitious has since been attempted; but the program instituted in 1926 by the Fascist régime is rapidly nearing completion, and Italy is richer by 150,000 acres of fertile soil cleared and placed in cultivation.<sup>3</sup> Four towns have already been established, Littoria in 1932, Sabaudia in 1933, Pontinia in 1934, and Aprilia in 1936.

The founding of Aprilia took place on April 25 of that year, and the keynote of the ceremony was the revival of ancient Roman traditions. Premier Mussolini announced at that time that the final stage of the project would be marked by the founding of a fifth town, Pomezia, on April 22, 1938. Pomezia is to revive the long-extinguished glory of Pometia or Suessa Pometia, one of the most ancient of Latin towns, and once the chief city of the region, to which it gave its name.<sup>4</sup> It is easy to conjecture that the foundation ceremony, scheduled for the day after the Parilia, will again stress parallels with ancient history.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roberto Almaggi and Valentino Orsolini-Cencelli, *Enciclopedia Italiana* xxvii, 897-900, s.v. "Pontina, regione."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Caes.* XLIV; Plutarch, *Caes.* LVIII; and Cassius Dio XLIV, 5. The aim was threefold: to save Rome from floods, to drain the marshes, and to provide the metropolis with a better harbor. It is hard for a layman to understand how Caesar expected to improve matters in the marshes by pouring the Tiber into them, but Sig. Orsolini-Cencelli speaks respectfully of the plan.

<sup>3</sup> Paul-Émile Cadilhac, "Impressions d'Italie: le miracle des Marais Pontins," *L'Illustration* (Paris, Sept. 18, 1937), 60-65, gives late news of the project, with many photographs and a map. He compares the policy of settling veterans on the land to that of Augustus.

<sup>4</sup> Pometinus > Pomptinus. Pometia was founded by Alba Longa, according to Diodorus VII, 3, but is listed among the cities of the Volsci in the war against Rome under

The legend of the founding of Rome is notoriously fictitious, but the details of ritual are sound enough, corresponding to those described for later colonies built by the Romans and to the evidence of archaeology for prehistoric Italic foundations.<sup>5</sup> The most striking feature was the tracing of a furrow, first around an augural templum, then around the limits of the settlement itself. The plow was drawn by a bull and a cow, both white, yoked to the right and left respectively of the plowman, who turned the clods to the left of the furrow and veered constantly to the left, i.e. made the circuit counterclockwise. This was the lucky direction according to the Romans, but most early peoples held the contrary view. How unlucky it seemed to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors is shown by the odd name they gave to it, "widdershins," i.e. a turn in an opposite direction to what is natural and proper; cf. German *wider*. But the Romans seem to have won us over to their view; no prejudice is now evident against the counterclockwise turn; our races, e.g., are run in that direction.

Accounts vary slightly as to what happened at the founding of Aprilia, but it is agreed that Premier Mussolini (Who else could play Romulus?) drove a tractor plow in a circle to mark off the limits either of the town hall<sup>6</sup> or of the town itself.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, no one has recorded whether he turned in the lucky or the unlucky direction. In the corner stone of the town hall was placed a document which reads in part:

Under the reign of Victor Emmanuel III, April 25 of the Year XIV of the Fascist régime . . . the Leader of Fascist Italy, renewing the symbolic rite of Romulus, has traced the furrow of Aprilia. . . . In the reclamation of the land the veterans of Vittorio-Veneto . . . know that it is the plow that traces the furrow but the sword that defends it. . . .

JOHN PAUL HEIRONIMUS

#### UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Tarquin the Proud (Livy I, 53). Sacked by Tarquin, it was again conquered in 503 B.C. by Spurius Cassius, who enslaved the inhabitants and destroyed the buildings (Livy II, 17). Pliny, *N.H.* III, 68 mentions it among cities no longer existing, and no trace has been found of its ruins, so that its site is uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hugh Last, in *Cambridge Ancient History* VII, 334 f. The literary evidence is collected in Frazer, *Fasti of Ovid* III, 379-390. The principal authors are Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* V, 143; Plutarch, *Romulus* XI; and Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 819-826.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Time* XXVII (May 4, 1936), 23.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Paris Temps*, April 26, 1936, 1, and *London Times*, April 27, 1936, 13.

## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

*Zenon Papyri*, Volume I. Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt. Edited with Introductions and Notes by William Linn Westermann and Elizabeth Sayre Hasenoehrl. (Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, No. 3.): New York, Columbia University Press (1934). Pp. x+177 with 8 Plates. 4° \$6.00.

The fifty-eight papyri published in this volume make a notable addition to the Zenon correspondence. They range in date from 259 to 248 B.C., and give a vivid picture of the numerous duties and responsibilities resting upon Zenon in his service as secretary and agent of Apollonius, the *dioiketes* of Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus. Nine of them, which had been previously published, are presented in revised texts. Like other Zenon papyri, these contain interesting and informative details, which the editors develop with admirable thoroughness, concerning labor, wages, costs, materials, and persons; their value lies in the fact that they are authentic sources for the history of social and economic conditions in Egypt in the middle of the third century B.C. Strictly speaking, only Nos. 2 and 3 refer to the activities of Apollonius outside of Egypt.

A few of the documents may be singled out for special mention. No. 2 is an account of the earnings made by a four-camel caravan trading from Egypt up the Palestinian coast by way of Gaza and Sidon to Galilee. Among the things carried are bricks, dates, reed mats, pickled meats, and grain. No. 4 furnishes an interesting statement of the number of rolls of papyrus distributed among

various members of Zenon's staff. In only one passage is a price mentioned, namely sixty rolls at three and a half obols each. In spite of the fact that the entry does not state the size of the roll or the quality of the papyrus, it is safe to see in this, as the editors have done, confirmatory evidence of the cheapness of writing material in Ptolemaic times. No. 5 is a good example of the care with which even small receipts and expenditures were listed in the *ephemeris* of the estate of Apollonius; the items include boats, grain, rope, knives and knife handles, rushes, fullers' fees, wages, and clothing. In No. 6, the most human letter in the collection, a mother complains to Zenon about the harsh treatment accorded to her son by Olympichus, a truculent subordinate. The letter is not illiterate, and its meaning is much clearer than the editing of the text and the manner of translating would lead one to believe. Nos. 7, 41, and 48 are good examples of the customary letter of introduction. A happy combination of a Cairo fragment with the Columbia papyrus results in the text of No. 11, a request by three citizens of Caunus—the town on the coast of Caria from which Zenon had himself originally come—to arrange an audience for them with Apollonius. Their thinly veiled flattery ends by assuring Zenon that his efforts will be suitably presented to, and doubtless rewarded by, the assembly of Caunus. In No. 14 Apollonius gives directions for the storage of large quantities of olive oil, in which he traded. No. 19 deals with a gift of two Chian jars of wine to the wife of Amyntas for the celebration of the Thesmophoria, a slight document in itself but important, as the editors point out, because it confirms Edgar's conclusion that the Alexandrian and Athenian Thesmophoria were held at the same time of the year. No. 49, a receipt for four and a half ἀρταβαι of wheat in prepayment of rent, a not uncommon type of document, is significant because the twenty-one ἀρουραι are allotted to a κληρῦχος and because a new eponymous commander, Demetrius by name, can be added to the officials known from other papyri. The editors have in consequence drawn up a very helpful list of all the eponymous commanders, together with the references, dates, and size of the allotments. Finally, No. 54 is of special importance because it clearly shows the various steps taken in

preparing the evidence for a case of civil action based on failure to comply with the contractual terms of a lease of land.

To Nos. 2 and 54 the editors have appended good bibliographies. Nos. 9, 10, 12, 17, 31, 41, 52, 58, and 59 are illustrated by Plates. Inasmuch as reference is sometimes made to a Plate by number, e.g. (p. 161) "See . . . Plate VII," it would have been helpful if the Plates had borne serial numbers. Seven of the Columbia fragments have been identified by the editors as parts of documents in other collections. In this task, as in correlating the contents of the Columbia papyri with the data supplied by Zenon correspondence published elsewhere, the editors have demonstrated their mastery of the complicated historical and economic problems involved.

Where so much is praiseworthy it may seem captious to call attention to a few details which are, in the opinion of the reviewer, less commendable. It is, for example, a matter of regret that contrary to accepted editorial practice the texts are printed without accents and breathings. Again, dots have been placed "under all letters which are not clear enough to be read with certainty, even where the correctness of the reading is obvious" (p.v.) Under this method the reader cannot always decide, especially in passages where the text seems obscure, whether the text is really in doubt or merely mutilated. German editors have often used subscript bars for mutilated, but certain, letters; and bars actually appear in Nos. 5, 2 and 59, 10, although these do not conform with the system used elsewhere in the book.

Papyri, as everyone who has worked on them knows, present difficult problems of many kinds. Even where the writing is easy to decipher—and this is far from being the rule—it is not always a simple matter to reconstruct the sense. This is especially true in the private letters, where vagaries of spelling and syntax may cause trouble. It is, therefore, inevitable that first publications should be subject to revision. The editors of the present volume have had too much experience to claim finality for their own interpretations. When I expressed to Professor Westermann my particular interest in No. 6, the letter of the worried mother, he kindly sent me a photograph that seems to

warrant a change of reading essential to the unity of the letter. In line 4, instead of μάλα γελοιώσα[σ]α κείμενον the text should have μάλ' ἀγελοίως διακείμενον. This reading, which represents the joint suggestions of Mr. H. C. Youtie and myself, is better Greek and gives precisely the meaning which the context requires. In line 8 the ὥς is used with the force of ὥστε as the following infinitive shows. In line 2 there seems to be insufficient room for the inclusion of τῶν in the lacuna. In the same line the comma seems necessary after ὑμᾶς, and in line 6 the period should follow εἰπρεπῶς. In No. 43, 6 the translation "[and money, totaling (?)] 5 drachmas" does not, in my opinion, represent the Greek, which means simply "a goose worth 5 drachmas." The translations of Nos. 46 and 51 do not convey the exact sense of the Greek, owing, I believe, to a misconception of the use of παρά. In No. 51, 4 the introduction of ὦν in the resolution is unnecessary. In the text of No. 52, 8 the reading ἡμεῖς [ἴσ]ως εἰ μὴ ἀργεῖν cannot be defended on grammatical grounds; on the basis of Plate VII I should read ἡμεῖν [δε]ήσει which gives the meaning called for by the context.

These and other interpretations which might be cited are matters on which opinions may differ. My purpose in mentioning them is certainly not to detract from the merits of the book. These merits are everywhere apparent, and the editors are to be sincerely congratulated on a publication which contributes so much noteworthy material to our understanding of the economic and social conditions of Egypt in the time of Zenon and his associates.

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JOSEPH PEARL, *Companion to Caesar* (1927), *Companion to Cicero* (1927), *Companion to Vergil* (1932): New York, College Entrance Book Company. Pp. 186, 186, 206 respectively. Revised.

These little green and blue paper-covered hand-books are exactly what their names imply,—helps for the study of Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil. They are not intended to be inspirational books. They do not help a boy or girl carve soap statues, dress dolls in togas, or build bridges. They present the facts of Latin and set

forth, as the Preface to the *Companion to Caesar* states, "in teachable form all the material which should accompany a sound and thorough Latin course based on Caesar (or Cicero, or Vergil)." I should go a step further and say that if a pupil mastered the contents of these *Companions*, no matter what else he learned, or failed to learn, in his high school Latin, he would possess a sound and thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of Latin study.

The *Companion to Caesar* deals with Caesar's life, military affairs, syntax, prose composition, idioms and phrases, derivatives and word-formation, word-lists, English-Latin vocabulary, and examples of recent examination papers. In the *Companion to Cicero* are included the important events in Cicero's life, the Roman constitution, the Forum in Cicero's day, principal Italian towns and roads in Cicero's time, rhetorical devices, the calendar, idioms and phrases, syntax, 260 sentences to be translated into Latin, word-formation, Latin to be translated at sight, Latin to be read for comprehension, Roman background, which includes an outline of Roman history, character, daily life, religion, and material on Cicero as statesman, author, and orator. Suggestions for collateral reading, Latin word-list, English-Latin vocabulary, typical examination papers for third-year Latin, and questions of contemporaneous interest complete the subject matter. The *Companion to Vergil* contains a rich variety of material. In addition to things similar to those in the other two books attractive to a Latin teacher are a list of famous passages in the *Aeneid* (all of them worth memorizing), a sensible exposition of rules for scansion, most of the important devices of style and grammar, and characters and mythological figures in the *Aeneid*.

It is the reviewer's opinion that the selections for sight translation in all three books are too difficult for most schools, especially for schools that have to emphasize interesting devices in order to keep Latin in their curriculum. A sight passage for translation serves its purpose when well provided with foot-note helps. On the other hand, the selections for sight comprehension are well organized for that sort of exercise.

Particularly interesting is the section in each book called "Ques-

tions of Contemporaneous Interest." Sample questions are, "Give a famous instance in Roman history of a 'soldier's bonus' becoming an important political issue"; "Give several reasons why even our great modern highways are not as durable as the Roman roads"; "Name three Romans who might be called 'friends of the forgotten man' "; "To what Roman dictatorship do the governmental policies of Mussolini and Hitler most nearly correspond?"; "Compare the policy of republican Rome in regard to taking foreigners into the citizen body with the present policy of the United States"; "Compare several of the evils that the Gracchi tried to remedy with several of those that have confronted Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The severe work-shop atmosphere in all three books is lightened by maps and pictures. Teachers will welcome the sensible condensations of forms and syntax. Nothing superfluous clutters the pages. The nine rules on *How to Study* on the final page are in conformity with the business-like manner in which each book is constructed.

These handy little books represent in the mind of the reviewer very helpful tools for achieving thorough work in the classroom. They should prove most useful for tutoring backward pupils or for independent work on the part of the ambitious pupil. They will not appeal to teachers who are content to have their pupils learn *about* Latin. They are designed, rather, for that larger body of teachers who believe in teaching the facts of Latin and in integrating Latin study as far as is practicable with the pupil's English and with modern social life.

DORRANCE S. WHITE

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ADELINE BELLE HAWES, *Citizens of Long Ago*: New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. vii+183. \$2.50.

These "Essays on Life and Letters in the Roman Empire" constitute the last gift to classical scholarship by a very delightful lady, for many years professor of Latin at Wellesley College and a familiar figure to those fortunate souls who have sojourned at the Pensione Girardet.

The most unusual and delightful of these essays to the reviewer,

partly perhaps because he was privileged to hear Miss Hawes read it at Rome, her voice and eyes exhibiting the sympathy and love for the little people she was describing, is "Little Citizens of Long Ago." The essay deals with Roman children as revealed in the literature, the inscriptions, and above all in ancient art. As she says "There are literally hundreds of bewitching little faces scattered through the museums of Europe which bear witness to the Roman fondness for children."

"Plutarch in His Essays" is a most enjoyable account of "that devoted teacher, that gentleman and scholar, so genial, wise, and kindly, who lived and lectured and wrote in that dull little town of Chaeronea" whose "local patriotism is one of his most endearing characteristics."

"A Friend of Marcus Aurelius" gives an interesting and sympathetic account, not only of Fronto, but of the emperor himself and of Herodes Atticus.

"Light Reading From the Roman Empire" deals with Apuleius, particularly the *Metamorphoses*, or "Golden Ass."

"A Spanish Poet in Rome" presents Martial with great sympathy and in a light some of his readers may have missed. "Three of Martial's most attractive qualities are his love of the country, his love of little children, and his devotion to his friends."

"Charities and Philanthropies in the Roman Empire" emphasizes those of ordinary people which are so often overlooked rather than such conspicuous philanthropists as Pliny. "So much of human life is commonplace that we need the commonplace remains (preserved in inscriptions) as well as the greater for gaining a true conception of life in the Roman Empire."

"A Greek Satirist of the Roman Empire" deals with Lucian. Finally, how many of us have even a bowing acquaintance with the Emperor Julian, "a man of whom it has been truly said that 'duty toward men and trust in God was the keynote of his life,' " and whose apostasy she so convincingly defends?

"A Roman Poet of the Fifth Century, Rutilius Namatianus," is an even less familiar figure—that poet who

was torn in his heart by two conflicting emotions, a real desire to return to his native Gaul, and overwhelming sorrow at leaving Rome. This is a con-

flict of emotions which has been felt by countless other people who have found it necessary to go away from Rome during the fifteen centuries that have passed since that day in the year 416 when Rutilius went.

From this brief survey it is evident that Miss Hawes might well have labelled these essays "Classical Byways." They are written in an informal, unpretentious style without documentation and are eminently readable and suggestive for the layman or the specialist. To quote one of her own expressions, they are "full of good things," of which one example taken from the essay on Plutarch must suffice:

Plutarch's opinion was that it is best to abandon ceremony as to rank (at a dinner party), but to take care to have people together who will find each other congenial. "For your next neighbor at table," he says, "you would always prefer a villain if he is interesting, rather than a bore, however worthy."

To quote Professor Showerman's concluding remark in his admirable introduction to these essays:

In their solidity of content, in their straightforward and unassertive manner, in their appreciation of the human motive, and now and then in their gleam of the personal, they are an example of classical humanism bearing fruit in the fulness of time and in the ideal place, and they form an appropriate memorial of their author's career and character.

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## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Berkeley Institute, 181 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Latin Enrolment Mounts in District of Columbia<sup>1</sup>

The result of a failure study for the years 1931 to 1937 made recently in the Junior High Schools in the District of Columbia proves very heartening to the Latin world. Latin not merely held its own throughout that period; it stands *fifth* among twenty listed curriculum subjects in percentage of increase in enrolment.

The percentage of increase or decrease in enrolment in all twenty has been given here for purposes of comparison. There is given also the number of pupils registered in each subject in the first semester of 1931 and in the second semester of 1937.

SUBJECT	1931	1937	Per cent of increase or decrease in enrolment during the period
Civics	203	2,262	+1014.3
General Business Training	682	2,015	+ 195.5
Typewriting	777	2,209	+ 184.3
Commercial Arithmetic	777	2,196	+ 182.6
Latin	792	2,212	+ 179.3
Arithmetic—Intuitive Geometry	3,868	8,741	+ 126.0
Physical Education	6,444	13,197	+ 104.8
Metal Crafts	764	1,561	+ 104.3
Art	6,364	12,512	+ 97.1

<sup>1</sup> Also encouraging were the enrolment figures in Latin as compared with those of other subjects in the New York City schools for 1934. CLASSICAL JOURNAL (December 1937), XXXII, 3.

Music	6,691	13,119	+	96.1
English	6,802	13,176	+	93.7
French	1,027	1,702	+	65.7
General Science	5,094	7,733	+	51.8
Home Economics	4,926	7,310	+	48.4
Fundamentals of Business	1,420	2,065	+	45.4
Printing	1,259	1,636	+	29.9
Social Studies	9,071	11,446	+	26.2
Mechanical Drawing	203	247	+	21.7
Woodworking	1,616	1,886	+	16.7
Algebra	2,058	1,926	-	6.4

Although the numbers in Latin increased rapidly in this period, the percentage of failure was reduced from 9.6 in 1931 to 5.1 in 1937. In percentage of failure for 1937 Latin stands *eighth*, with a lower percent than Commercial Arithmetic (highest with 7.4), Arithmetic-Intuitive Geometry, Fundamentals of Business, General Business Training, French, English, Typewriting, respectively.

The head of the Latin department in the District of Columbia Public Schools is Mildred Dean.

#### For the Bulletin Board

Eight dioramas, each representing a scene from the life of a classical sculptor, were conceived and partly completed by the late Lorado Taft. Three sets, now finished, are in the Kenosha (Wisconsin) Historical and Art Museum, the University of Illinois, and the Dayton (Ohio) Art Institute. Five of the eight dioramas were reproduced in color in the *Milwaukee Journal* for March 6, 1938. These five show scenes in the studios of Phidias, Praxiteles, Niccola Pisano, Andrea, and Donatello. The page makes a very attractive display for the bulletin board. The editor of this department acknowledges receipt of this item from William J. Chapitis, Menasha High School, Menasha, Wisconsin.

#### Then and Now

Modern Italy's creation of the second Roman Empire and her dreams of yet further expansion in the Mediterranean area have been furnishing Latin classes with much material for drawing historical parallels. A most striking contrast, however, is the result of Germany's recent absorption of Austria.

In the summer of 58 B.C., after his defeat of the Helvetians, Caesar restored the latter to their homeland. His motive was to retain their country as a buffer state between the Germanic tribes and Roman territory. This far-sighted policy prevented for several hundred years the irruption of the fierce northern tribes into the Empire.

March, 1938 A.D., almost exactly two thousand years later, finds the heirs of those same Germanic tribes not separated this time from the territory of the second Roman Empire by a buffer state, but right on Italy's threshold in the Brenner Pass to the east of the ancient Helvetia.

#### Table of Case Functions

It is increasingly true today that pupils entering beginning Latin classes know neither rules of English grammar nor parts of speech. Their knowledge of the technical terms of grammar is scanty or even non-existent. It is therefore becoming more and more the duty of the Latin teacher to teach grammar as well as the forms and functions of Latin words. The pressure of this program is heavy. But it is also true that to make haste slowly in the face of this circumstance will often prove most effective in the end. Terms and definitions must be reduced to the utmost simplicity, be repeatedly emphasized in reading, and be accompanied by abundant functional drill.

A device that I have found helpful in connecting the Latin cases with their functional uses is given below:

CASES	USES	CORRESPONDING ENGLISH USES
Nominative	1. Subject of the sentence	1. Answers the question <i>Who?</i> or <i>What?</i> BEFORE the verb (the action word in the sentence).
	2. Predicate word	2. Answers the question <i>Who?</i> or <i>What?</i> AFTER a linking verb.
Genitive	Shows possession or connection	's, s', of _____
Dative	Indirect object	to _____, for _____
Accusative	1. Direct object	Answers the question <i>Who?</i> or <i>What?</i> AFTER an action verb.
	2. Object of a preposition	2. _____

	3. Without a preposition	3. How long?, How far?
Ablative	1. Object of a preposition	
	2. Without a preposition	Answers one of the following questions:
		1. With what, by what?
		2. How?
		3. When?
		4. In respect to what?
		5. Because of what?
Vocative	Direct address	Name or title in addressing a person directly

We begin this table as the various cases appear and are used. When a new use occurs we discuss how it is used, take note of it as it reappears for five or six times, then add it to our table and learn it. The completed table provides for practically all the case functions learned during the first year.

#### **The Importance of Word Study**

The contribution which the study of Latin is able to make in the stimulation and growth of English vocabulary is becoming increasingly important. As the study of Latin is assailed and restricted this factor is steadily growing more vital by showing a reason for the retention of Latin in the curriculum. It is significant, I believe, that where the study of Latin is holding its ground or increasing its enrolment figures, the study of word-building and of the relation of English and Latin words is usually one of the emphasized objectives. Word-study is now a regular feature of all newer textbooks. In many cases it presents a practical and steady development carefully correlated with the reading. In some it appears as an interesting but not especially related item relegated to the end of the lesson with so many other exercises preceding it that the teacher tends to omit it in order to "cover the work."

Rightly developed from the start, used practically and functionally in solving the unknown Latin words of the reading, and carefully emphasized throughout the year, this study of English words can be very influential in itself, convincing students of the value of continuing their Latin for another year.

From the first day through carefully chosen English words related to new Latin words in the Latin reading, the pupils can be taught to solve the unknown through the known. In this early work they must be constantly and carefully guided to realize that the English word is not the *meaning* of the Latin word, but that the Latin and the English word have a *common* meaning.

Begin from the first to draw their attention to words (objective or action words are more successful), which have various compound forms, which are commonly met with in their newspaper or other reading, and which catch their attention and interest. Such an element, which arises in class reading, is *-cide* from *occido*. The pupils immediately contribute *suicide*, *matricide*. The teacher brings in newspaper clippings using these words. One of the pupils discovers *homicide*. These are all duly mounted on the bulletin board. The Latin words *frater* and *rex* give the pupils themselves an opportunity to form the English words for a brother's slaying and a king's murder.

Similar words give further opportunity for pupils to "invent" English words. Many of these are frequently referred to and used in class. English sentences containing them are furnished now and then by the teacher or pupils. The latter acquire a pride of acquaintance and possession, and begin to make conscious use of them outside the classroom. This procedure works especially well in words which are constantly used in the civics class.

As their stock of adjectives grows show them how to form nouns by the use of the suffixes *-tas*, *tudo*, *tia*, *-ia*, and how these nouns become English by changing to *-ty*, *-tude*, *-ce*, *-cy*. From other unknown nouns let them "discover" new adjectives. Or from known adjectives plus the help of the English dictionary they can "solve" the unknown Latin original. Many of them will be interested in the problem side of this and in the satisfaction of personal discovery.

As prefixes begin to appear help the pupils to discover their meanings. Let them bring to class the next day three English words which illustrate each meaning of the prefix. Whenever a new word with several compounds is met, be sure to let the class form various ones with the help of the prefixes which they already know. From other English compounds of it known to the pupils

they can solve the meanings of new prefixes. Such exercises not only give added practice in the prefix meaning but drive home the fact that possession of the prefix meaning will, on mastery of one new word, immediately reap large returns.

Show the pupils how the dictionary gives the family history of every word, tracing it to its original Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon form. Have the interested pupils at some time in the year each select a paragraph (of not more than seventy-five words) from a newspaper or textbook. Let them list from their paragraphs all the different words of Latin or Greek origin, all the different words of non-classical origin, and the percentage of each group based on the total number of different words in the paragraph. By this means they will have repeated illustrations of the ratio of words of classical origin in English.

Bring in some time during the year a paragraph from an Italian, French, or Spanish newspaper. Let them find as many words as they can with the help of their Latin vocabulary. Supplement these with your own previous study of the paragraph showing the total number of classical words in ratio to the non-classical ones. They will see the value of Latin as a help in learning to read other languages.

If they are studying French as well as Latin, let them show the relation between known French and Latin words, i.e., the personal pronouns, the forms of *sum*, the articles, numerals, etc. If Latin is the only language they are studying, then show them how their knowledge of Latin forms enables them to recognize similar forms in modern languages which they have not yet studied.

Now and then bring to class, or give them opportunity to bring some word whose story is interesting or exciting, i.e. sincere, candidate, canary, dilapidated, pen, cardinal, etc.

In every case maintain and develop their interest in new English words mastered by them through their Latin words by consciously using them in the classroom, and stimulating them to do so both in the Latin class and elsewhere. They themselves will soon see the tremendous advantage to both their active and their passive vocabulary to be gained from their study of Latin.

## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Connecticut

The state of Connecticut will hold its second State Latin Contest at New Haven, May 2, with every prospect that, as in the first contest, held two years ago, there will be great enthusiasm spread throughout a great proportion of the high schools and preparatory schools of the state. In the first contest the *Hartford Courant* acted as sponsor and furnished a great deal of publicity as well as the prizes. In the present contest the *New Haven Register* will occupy the same position. As in the previous contest, each high school in the state, whether public or private, is allowed two representatives for each year's work, and as a corollary to this arrangement the contest will be in four divisions representing each of the four years of high school Latin.

We very gladly make this advance announcement of the Connecticut Contest not only to give greater publicity to an unusually worthy and well-managed project but also in the hope that the classical forces in other states may be led to do something similar.

### Iowa

Professor Dorrance S. White, of the University of Iowa, has been broadcasting three times a week a series of radio talks on the *Greek Epic in English* and *Greek Drama in English* as "his contribution toward placing cultural things before the Iowa public."

**Iowa—Resolution of Endorsement**

"The Humanist Society of the *University of Iowa* heartily endorses the move now being made by the Modern Foreign Languages Association of America, together with the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with affiliated associations, to combat the present trend toward making the Social Sciences the core of the school curriculum, with the resultant elimination of language study and other humanistic subjects from the curriculum. The Humanist Society believes that the elimination of language study from the secondary school curriculum would impoverish, rather than enrich, the education of children in the adolescent period, would retard the mental growth of these children in their preparation for advanced study, and would handicap them during their college career and in their preparation for life.

"In view of this conviction, The Humanist Society of the University of Iowa expresses to the presidents of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, the American Classical League, the American Association of Teachers of French, the American Association of Teachers of German, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, and the American Association of Teachers of Italian its hearty sympathy with their program and pledges to contribute such co-operation as lies in its power."

S. M. PITCHER, President

ERICH FUNKE, German

TACIE KNEASE, French-Italian

E. K. MAPES, Spanish

A. N. STUNTZ, Secretary

D. S. WHITE, Class. Lang. & Chairman

**Massachusetts**

The thirty-third annual meeting of the CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION of NEW ENGLAND was held on Friday and Saturday, April 8 and 9, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The program follows:

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 10:00 A.M., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

"Welcome," by Dr. George H. Edgell, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, with "Response" by Professor Austin M. Harmon, President of the Association.

"Recent Acquisitions of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston" (Illustrated), Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, Museum of Fine Arts.

"The Study of Latin and of the Roman Law," Rev. Patrick J. Higgins, S. J., Holy Cross College.

"Marcus Junius Brutus and the *Brutus* of Accius," Professor Cornelia C. Coulter, Mount Holyoke College.

Conducted tour of the Classical Collection.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 2:00 P.M., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

"The Public Baths and the Women of Early Christian Society," Mr. John H. Monroe, Brown University.

"The Leaders of the Catilinarian Conspiracy," Mr. Francis L. Jones, State Teachers College, Worcester, Massachusetts.

"Further Reflections on the Forgotten Student," Professor Mary B. McElwain, Smith College.

Conducted tour of the Classical Collection.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 8:15 P.M., HOTEL VENDOME, BOSTON

*At the close of the annual dinner of the Association, held in the New Empire Ball Room*

"Vergil's Workmanship," Professor Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University.

"Recent Archaeological News from Greece" (Illustrated), Dean George H. Chase, Harvard University.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 9:30 A.M., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

"The *Societas Linguae Latinae* of Rhode Island," Miss Edythe F. Reeves, Cranston High School.

"The State Latin Contest of Connecticut," Dr. Harry A. Cohen, Norwich Free Academy.

"Reconstructing the Past," Mrs. Anne Holliday Webb, Supervisor of the Division of Museum Extension, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

"Vergil, The National Poet" (Illustrated), Miss Marianna Jenkins, Assistant in the Division of Museum Extension, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

"The Green Baize Bag," Miss Stella Mayo Brooks, Spaulding High School, Barre, Vermont.

"Rome as It Really Is" (Illustrated), Dr. John F. Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 2:15 P.M., TOWER COURT, WELLESLEY COLLEGE

"The Study of Latin a Century and a Half Ago," Professor John C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy.

"Modern Poets and Greek Tragedy," Professor Barbara P. McCarthy, Wellesley College.

#### **Massachusetts—Eastern Section**

The EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS SECTION of the Classical Association of New England held its thirty-first annual meeting February 12 at the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, in combination with the Classical Club of Greater Boston. The following program was given:

"A Word of Welcome," Miss Mary R. Stark, president of the Classical Club; "Aristotle on the Beauty of Tragedy," Dr. Gerald F. Else, Harvard University; "The Deification of the Roman Emperor," Rev. Joseph E. McGrady, S. J., Boston College High School; "The Style of Catullus," Peter S. Fish, Roxbury Latin School; "Recent Acquisitions of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, of the Museum.

The officers of the Section are: President, Dr. George A. Land, Newton

High School; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; Executive Committee, Frank A. Kennedy, Boston Girls' High School; Professor William F. Wyatt, Tufts College; Miss Louise Packard, Winson School, Boston; Professor Donald Cameron, Boston University, together with the President and the Secretary.

The officers of the Classical Club of Greater Boston are: President, Miss Mary R. Stark, Girls' Latin School, Boston; Vice-presidents, Professor William C. Greene, Harvard University; George E. Lane, Thayer Academy; Dr. Elizabeth C. Evans, Wheaton College; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; Treasurer, Dr. George A. Land, Newton High School; Censor, Miss Mary H. Buckingham, Boston.

#### **Massachusetts—Wellesley College**

The Greek Department of Wellesley College in co-operation with the Departments of Art, Hygiene and Physical Education, and Music will present the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* of Euripides in Greek on Thursday, May fifth, at four-thirty in the out-door theater near Alumnae Hall. If it rains, the play will be given in the auditorium of Alumnae Hall. Tickets of admission will not be necessary and all those interested are cordially invited to attend.

#### **New Hampshire**

The New Hampshire branch of the New England Classical Association met at the Nashua High School, October 21, 1937 with the following program: "Advantages of Joining the New England Classical Association," Doris Carpenter, Manchester High School; "Conversational Latin," John Bourne, "Providing for Individual Differences and Needs," Carl Howard. The guest speaker was Professor John Kirtland, of Phillips-Exeter Academy, whose subject was "Aims, Methods, and Measuring of Achievements."

#### **New Mexico—Broadcast of *Oedipus Rex***

Excerpts from a modernization of the *Oedipus Rex* were broadcast from Albuquerque over KOB at 7 P.M. on March 25, which is Greek Independence Day. The author of the modernization is Mr. Carless Jones, of Albuquerque, who spent five years as Head of the Drama Department in Athens College. The play was produced in Albuquerque in April and will be repeated before the National Ahepa Convention in New Orleans in August.

#### **North Mississippi Classical Conference**

The North Mississippi Classical Conference held its ninth annual meeting at the University of Mississippi on Saturday, February 12, with 100 members in attendance representing high schools and colleges in that section of the state.

Miss Harriet Jackson, head of the Latin Department of the University High School, was elected president, succeeding Spencer Murphy, Sunflower

Junior College. Other officers elected for the coming year were Josie Brumfield, New Albany, vice-president; and Elizabeth Vardaman, Greenwood, secretary-treasurer.

Dr. Alfred W. Milden, head of the Department of Classics at the University, made the welcome address. William Johnson, student fellow in the University, spoke on "The Parthenon of Pericles and Its Reproduction in America," basing his address on the book of the same name by B. F. Wilson, Director of the Parthenon at Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. A. B. Hatch, assistant in the University Classical Department, spoke on "The Vital Element in the Classics"; Miss Frances Smith, of Blue Mountain College, spoke of the future of the classics in "What Lies Ahead?" Joe Ellis, of Clarksdale, spoke on "The Life of Cicero." Other features on the program were dramas acted in Latin and a general discussion of "The Latin Club in High School and College," led by Dr. Lucy Hutchins, of Blue Mountain College.

#### **Tennessee**

In his inaugural address of February 5, Chancellor Carmichael, of Vanderbilt University, said among other things: "For the past few decades the requirements in, and emphasis on, the Natural Sciences have varied little, but the change most commonly observed (and frequently deplored) is the large increase in the amount of time devoted to the social sciences and a corresponding decrease in the attention paid to the humanities. To one brought up in the classical tradition it is difficult to admit that a college education is complete without some Latin or Greek or both, and, despite a decline in emphasis on these subjects in recent years, I believe that a revival of interest in classical literature is certain to come. I hope that Vanderbilt will make a contribution to that end." We sincerely hope that under its new chancellor Vanderbilt University will continue as in the past in the front rank of those who fight for the humanities.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University.]

- BAGGALLY, JOHN W., *Ali Pasha and Great Britain*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1938). Pp. 91. 4s. 6d.
- BAKER, G. P., *Augustus*, The Golden Age of Rome: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. (1937). Pp. 337, illustrated, maps. \$3.50.
- BENGSTON, HERMANN, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht, Band I: Munich, Beck (1937). Pp. xii+235. M. 7.15.
- BIZER, FRITZ, *Untersuchungen zur Archäologie des Thukydides* (Doctor's Thesis): Bottrop i. W., Postberg (1937). Pp. 60.
- BLAKE, WARREN E., *Charitonis Aphrodisiensis de Chaerea et Callirhoe Amatoriarum Narrationum Libri Octo*: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. 142. \$5.00.
- BURKENFELD, GUNTHER, *Augustus*: London, Constable (1937). Pp. 396.
- CALZA, GUIDO, *Ostia*: Rome, Libreria dello Stato (1937). Pp. 18, illustrated.
- CAVAGLIERI, ELEONORA, *Figure mitologiche degli specchi detti etruschi*: Rome, Stamperia Romana (1937). Pp. 71, 14 plates.
- CHAMBERS, R. L., and ROBINSON, K. D., *Septimus*, A First Latin Reader: London, Oliver (1937). Pp. 176, illustrated. 2s. 3d.
- CICERO, *The Speeches, In Catilinam 1-4, Pro Murena, Pro Flacco*, With an English Translation by L. E. Lord (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 485. \$2.50.
- CLARK, KENNETH W., *Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America*, A Descriptive Catalogue: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1937). Pp. 418, 72 plates. \$5.00.
- CLARKE, M. L., *Richard Porson*, A Biographical Essay: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1937). Pp. viii+127. \$1.90.
- COSTAS, PROCOPE S., *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language*, With Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Periods: Chicago, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences of America (1936). Pp. 137.
- DANA, H. E., *The New Testament World*, A Brief Sketch of the History and Conditions which Composed the Background of the New Testament (3rd edition, revised): Nashville, Broadman (1937). Pp. 467. \$2.00.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

- DE FALCO, VITTORIO, *L'evoluzione tecnica nelle parodoi e negli stasimi di Sofocle*: Naples, Stab. Tip. (1937). Pp. 70.
- DE MARTINO, ROSAROL ADRIANA, *Maternità ed infanzia nelle tragedie di Euripide*: Rome, Ausonia (1937). Pp. 101. L.8.
- DELAPORTE, L., DRIOTON, E., PIGANOL, A., and COHEN, R., *Atlas Historique I, L'Antiquité*: Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France (1937). 30 maps.
- DIMITRAKOS, GEORGIOS, *Demetrios Poliorketes und Athen* (Doctor's Thesis): Hamburg, Christians (1937). Pp. 94.
- DIRINGER, DAVID, *L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà*, con preliminari di Guido Mazzoni: Florence, Barbera (1937). Pp. lxvii+800, illustrated, 4 plates.
- DOW, STERLING, *Pryloneis, A Study of the Inscriptions honoring the Athenian Councillors (Hesperia, Supplement I)*: Athens, Greece, American School of Classical Studies (1937). Pp. 258. \$3.00.
- DUCATI, PERICLE, *Le problème étrusque*: Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux (1938). Pp. 188. Illustrated.
- FERCKEL, FRIEDRICH, *Lysias und Athen, des Redners politische Stellung zum Gaststaat*: Würzburg, Triltsch (1937). Pp. viii+163.
- FITZ-HUGH, T., *Indoeuropean Accent*: Charlottesville, Va., Anderson Bros., University of Virginia (1937). Pp. xxx+69. \$3.00.
- FORD, H. G., *Hints on Latin Accidence and Syntax*: London, Methuen (1937). Pp. 63. 1s. 6d.
- FRASER, A. D., *The Potamic System of the Trojan Plain*: Charlottesville, Va., Jameson Book Store (1937). Pp. 77, 5 maps. \$1.00.
- FRENKIAN, A. M., *Études de philosophie présocratique, II, La philosophie comparée, Empédocle d'Agrigente, Parménide d'Elea*: Paris, Vrin (1937). Pp. 110, Fr. 20.
- GALASSO, GIUSEPPE, *Le figure femminili dell'Encide*: Palermo, Travi (1937). Pp. 99. L.8.
- GERIN, RICARD, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine*: Paris, Leroux (1937). Pp. 31. Fr. 80.
- GIBBES, J. W., and KAEPPPEL, C. H., *Virgil, Aeneid V*, Edited with Notes and Vocabulary: Sydney, N.S.W., Pellegrini and Co. (1937). 2s. 6d.
- GIOVANNETTI, EUGENIO, *La religione de Cesare*: Milan, Hoepli (1937). Pp. xii+423, 17 plates. L.20.
- GODDARD, E. H., and CHAMBERS, R. L., *Orbis Terrarum, A Senior Latin Reader*: London, Oliver (1937). Pp. 176. 2s. 3d.
- GOODSPEED, E. J., *New Chapters in the New Testament*: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1937). Pp. 231. \$2.00.
- GRUBE, G. M. A., *Plato's Thought*: London, Methuen and Co. (1935). Pp. 304.
- GUMMERE, JOHN FLAGG, *Comprehension Readings for Second-Year Latin*: New York, Scott, Foresman and Co. (1938). Pp. 60.

- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XLVIII: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 208.
- HENLE, R. J., *Latin Grammar for High Schools*: Chicago, Loyola University Press (1937). Pp. 183. \$1.00.
- HENLE, R. J., *First Year Latin*, Chicago, Loyola University Press, (1937). Pp. 394. \$1.32.
- HERR, MARGARET, *The Additional Short Syllables in Ovid* (Doctor's Thesis): Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania (1937). Pp. 31.
- HEUSS, ALFRED, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in ihren staats- und völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen*: Leipzig, Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1937). Pp. xi+273.
- HILL, VICTOR, SEEGER, DOROTHY M., and WINCH, BERTHA M., *Teaching First-Year Latin*<sup>2</sup>: Ohio Latin Service Committee (1938). Pp. 271.
- HITCHINS, E., *Utrique*, A Revision of Latin Verbs, Books 1-2: Exeter, England, A. Wheaton and Co. Ltd. (1937). Pp. 40. 9d each.
- HOMER, *The Story of Odysseus*, A Translation of the *Odyssey* by W. H. D. Rouse, Illustrated by Lynd Ward (Gold Seal Series): New York, Modern Age Books, Inc. (1937). \$0.50.
- JAX, KARL, *Der Frauentypus der Römischen Dichtung*: Leipzig, Verlag Felizian Rauch (1938). Pp. 71.
- KORNEMANN, ERNST, *Augustus, der Mann und sein Werk, im Lichte der deutschen Forschung*: Breslau, Priebatsch (1937). Pp. 185. M. 1.20.
- LATOURETTE, K. S., *The First Five Centuries*, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. I: New York, Harper (1937). Pp. 436, map. \$3.50.
- LAURAND, L., *Cicéron est intéressant*: Paris, Les Belles Lettres (1937). Fr. 6.
- LAWRENCE, G. A., *S.P.Q.R.*, The Story of the Roman Republic: London, Jarrolds (1937). Pp. 303. 3s. 6d.
- LÉGIER-DESGRANGES, H., *Les Apollinaires: histoire d'une famille gallo-romaine pendant trois siècles*: Paris, Hachette (1937). Fr. 15.
- MACK, DIETRICH, *Senatsreden und Volksreden bei Cicero*: Würzburg, Triltsch (1937). Pp. 129. M. 4.
- MAIURI, AMEDEO, *Herculaneum*, Translated by V. Priestly: Rome, Libreria dello Stato (1937). Pp. 71.
- MOORE, ERNEST CARROLL, *The Story of Instruction*, The Church, the Renaissance, and the Reformations: New York, Macmillan (1938). Pp. 563. \$4.00.
- MUIR, JAMES C., *His Truth Endureth*, A Survey of the Beginnings of Old Testament History in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries: Philadelphia, National Publishing Co. (1937). Pp. 312, illustrated, maps. \$2.50.
- MURPHY, G. H., *Lucilius and the Cycle*: London, Daniel (1937). Pp. 32. 1s.
- NEWBY, JESSIE D., *A Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus*: Edmond, Oklahoma, Central State Teachers College (1938). Pp. 101, plates.